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**RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY
AND CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOMS
OF PERU**

**BY
PEDRO PIZARRO**

**IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II**

**TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND ANNOTATED
BY
PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS**

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COCKATYNE, BOSTON

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RELATION

[CONTINUED]

RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOMS OF PERU, AND OF THE GOVERNMENT AND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH THE NATIVES OF THEM FORMERLY HAD, AND OF THE TREASURES WHICH WERE FOUND THEREIN, AND OF THE OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THOSE REALMS UP TO THE DAY ON WHICH THE RELATION WAS SIGNED BY PEDRO PIZARRO, A CONQUEROR AND SETTLER OF THOSE SAID KINGDOMS, AND A CITIZEN OF THE CITY OF AREQUIPA, IN THE YEAR 1571

VOLUME II

The Marquis, having set out from Cuzco, went to Xauxa in order to found there a city of Spaniards, and there he found Soto and Mango Inga. They had returned, because the warriors whom Quizquiz led were now routed by the attack which the Spaniards delivered against them, and, in his [Soto's] pursuit, he had gone beyond Atavillos, where

Quizquiz had disappeared, fleeing with some few Indians toward Quito, where afterwards he was killed by the Indian natives, because the Spaniards never had him in their hands. Don Diego de Almagro with some Spaniards went to Quito, because news was received that Don Pedro de Alvarado had disembarked at Puerto Viejo with five hundred men from Guatemala and that he was even now traversing the mountains between Puerto Viejo and Quito, as indeed he was. In this [city of] Quito was Benalcazar with some troops he had gathered, by command of the Marquis, at Tangarala, who had come thither from Nicaragua after it [Tangarala] was founded. To this Benalcazar the Marquis sent [a message] from Caxamalca, ordering him to collect all the troops I mention [and as many more] as might be found and to go to Quito so as to occupy that land in his [Pizarro's] name, because he was suspicious lest some captain come and occupy this province of Quito on the ground that it was not settled by Spaniards.

Having arrived at Quito, Don Diego de Almagro received word that Don Pedro de Alvarado was now drawing nigh, and he sent messengers to him to inform him that Quito had been settled by his companion Don Francisco Pizarro, and [advising him] not to stir up rebellion in the land because complaint [of his doing so] would be made to His Majesty. When Don Pedro de Alvarado learned that the Marquis had already conquered this entire kingdom and had established some villages in it, he came to see Don Diego de Almagro, and he entered into agreement with him to the effect that he [Almagro] should pay him for the expenses which he had incurred on account of his fleet, and that he [Alvarado] should leave his troops there and return to Guatemala. They agreed that he [Alvarado] should be given ninety thousand castellanos, and when this agreement was made he handed over the troops whom he led, and he and Don Diego de Almagro returned from Pachacama with all the troops who came with him.

To return now to the Marquis who was in Xauxa making the settlement. He divided up the neighbouring Indians [among the settlers] and founded his town in Xauxa.¹⁰⁶ This he did before he had news of the agreement made with Don Pedro de Alvarado. He settled here in order not to leave unprotected the highlands and because of the fewness of the Spaniards there [which caused him to fear] lest the mountaineers, who were many, arise in rebellion. Having formed this settlement, he sent Soto to Cuzco, making him his lieutenant in that city [and giving him] a few Spaniards. At the same time he sent Mango Inga to go with Soto to Cuzco. This done, the Marquis was desirous of seeing Pachacama and Chincha, which were much praised, and taking with him twenty men he set out to see them, leaving in Xauxa as his lieutenant Grabiél de Rojas who had just come from Nicaragua.¹⁰⁷ Then the Marquis set forth for Pachacama, and having arrived there, he remained several days, and from there he set forth to see Chincha, and while he was

there Grabiél de Rojas wrote to him to tell him that the land was all uneasy and like to break out into rebellion, and [asking him] to betake himself with all speed to Xauxa. As soon as these letters were received, the Marquis set out, and passing up through the valley of Lunaguan he arrived at Xauxa where he was well received by the Spaniards, and the Indians relapsed into calm. While he was in this place a messenger arrived from Almagro who sent him from Quito after the agreements with Don Pedro de Alvarado in order to give information about what had been agreed and carried out with respect to Don Pedro de Alvarado. The messenger who came here with this news was Diego de Agüero who had gone with Almagro. Then, when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro knew of the good success of his companion, and as he saw that the Spanish pioneers were losing their fear of the natives, he determined to move the town of Xauxa to Lima, where it now is, which is the city of the Kings, and so he set forth and made his

camp at Pachacama where he awaited Don Pedro de Alvarado and Don Diego de Almagro, and from there he sent to examine the site of the city of the Kings in the valley of Lima, where he settled, as has been said. And at this time arrived Don Pedro de Alvarado and Don Diego de Almagro with all the troops whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought to this kingdom. When they arrived here, there were great rejoicings and games with canes. And, at the end of some days, Don Pedro de Alvarado was rested, and he was given his money, although Almagro had won almost half of it from him. He embarked and returned to Guatemala, leaving all of his soldiers in this land, and the Marquis passed on to Lima and founded the city of the Kings which still exists.¹⁰⁸

This founding of the city of the Kings having been accomplished, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro gave power such as he himself had to Don Diego de Almagro, his companion, and he sent him to the city of Cuzco in order that he might take up his residence

there and distribute the Indians to those persons to whom he perceived it advisable to give them. Don Diego de Almagro, being in possession of this authority, set forth for the city of Cuzco, taking with him the greater part of the troops whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought with him, as well as other gentlemen such as Victores de Alvarado. And to some of the men of Alvarado and to Don Gomez de Luna he [Pizarro] gave occupation, giving [also] to some of them the Chachapoyas, and others he sent down to Puerto Viejo and others he took with him to Chimo, which is the valley where Trujillo lies and after having sent off Almagro, as has been told, he [Pizarro] went to found the city of Trujillo,¹⁰⁹ and there he gave good cheer to some of those who had come with Don Pedro de Alvarado, although others of them who went with Almagro to Cuzco came back so puffed up and haughty that the whole of this kingdom of Peru seemed to them but a slight matter. And so they determined to go to Chile with Don Diego de Almagro,

believing that there they would find another Peru. Then, Don Diego de Almagro having arrived at Cuzco with the troops already mentioned, and while he was there in all tranquillity, the news reached him that His Majesty had made him a grant of the governorship of the lands beyond the borders [of the jurisdiction] of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. While he was waiting for the despatches, those of the men of Don Pedro de Alvarado whom he had with him convinced him that Cuzco fell within the limits of his governorship. On getting wind of this, Joan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro his brother, who were in Cuzco, spoke to their friends about it, for they had many, in order that they might not yield to the intrigues of the men of Alvarado and Almagro. And while he was in this [city], Almagro believed that Joan Pizarro was making ready to go out upon the road to seize the despatches [granting to Almagro] his government, and [moved by] this rumour which was spread abroad, he [Almagro] likewise made ready a body of

troops, and although it was understood that his purpose was to possess himself of Cuzco, he feigned what I have related. At this time Soto was corregidor. He favoured Almagro, and one day he came to where Joan Pizarro was with his friends in order to incarcerate him in his dwelling, but failing to do the same to Don Diego de Almagro. Then, on account of this matter, Joan Pizarro and Soto had words, for Joan Pizarro told him that he was unfairly partial, and Soto replied that it was not so, whereupon Joan Pizarro seized a lance and stuck Soto with it, and, had not he [Soto] quickly fled upon the horse he was riding, he would have been overthrown by the blows of the lance. Joan Pizarro followed him until he chased him into the place where Almagro was, and, had not the friends and soldiers of Almagro succoured him, he [Joan Pizarro] would have slain him, for Joan Pizarro was a very valiant and ireful man. And when Almagro and the troops who were with him saw Soto enter fleeing and Joan Pizarro after him, they took their arms, which they had in

readiness, and they went out against Joan Pizarro, and so, from one side or another, troops assembled with their arms in the plaza, and, had it not been for Gomez de Alvarado, a gentleman whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought with him, [many of] both sides would this day have met their deaths. This Gomez de Alvarado, mounted upon his horse, stationed himself with a lance in the middle [of the contending forces], and he kept them apart, the one side from the other, beseeching them to look to the service of God our Lord and of His Majesty, and [hearing] these words and others, they separated, Joan Pizarro going with his friends to his dwelling, and Almagro with his friends to his. And so they continued in arms, the one side and the other until the Marquis, who was founding Trujillo, was given news of it. It was at this time that Don Diego de Almagro killed the brothers of Mango Inga, as I have said, in order to win his [Mango's] favour for his own ends and evil plans which he had, and, had not Joan Pizarro had the number of friends which he did have,

it is to be understood that Almagro would have made himself master of Cuzco. When this riot in Cuzco was learned about by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, he founded Trujillo and came post-haste to Cuzco, and when he was arrived, he and his companion Almagro came into an understanding, and it was agreed that Almagro should go to Chile, for many bits of information about this province were then in hand, and it was believed that it would be as good a land as this one. And they agreed between themselves under oath to be friends and not to act against one another, for, should Almagro find in Chile no land to settle in, he was to return and give news of it to the Marquis, who would then share his own governorship with him. This being agreed upon, Don Diego de Almagro made ready and with the troops of Don Pedro de Alvarado and with certain [others] who were already beginning to come to this land, he put into effect his journey, and the day he set out from Cuzco half of it burned down. And so he went with his followers all through

the Collao, for these troops of Don Pedro de Alvarado's from Guatemala whom he took with him were robbing and destroying wherever they went, for they came from those parts accustomed to do so, according to what they themselves gave [us] to understand. These were the first inventors of * * * * which, in our common speech, means to rob. And of those of us who came to the conquest with the Marquis not one man would have dared to take an ear of maize without permission.

Almagro having gone to Chile, as I say, the Marquis rebuilt Cuzco, creating more citizens for it.¹¹⁰ And leaving as lieutenant governor his brother Joan Pizarro in the city of Cuzco, he returned to the city of the Kings, and Hernando de Soto at this juncture went to Spain. Then, Don Diego de Almagro having gone to Chile, as has been said, and the Marquis having gone to the city of the Kings, Mango Inga determined to rise in rebellion, and, entering into agreement with the natives, they began to kill some of the

Christians who were going unprotected to visit the Indians of their *encomiendas*. And one night Mango Inga determined to leave Cuzco and go away. Joan Pizarro was advised of this by the spies whom he had set, because of being already suspicious on account of the deaths of the Christians and the riots [among] the people of Cuzco. On being advised of the flight of the Inga, Joan Pizarro and fifty cavalrymen sprang to horse, and, being informed as to where Mango Inga had gone, they went galloping after him, and, with the good luck which he [Joan Pizarro] had, he came up with him three leagues from Cuzco, near Molina [Muhyna, or Muyna] which is on the Collao road, and he took him prisoner to Cuzco. And if, at this juncture, this Indian had not been taken, all of us Spaniards who were in Cuzco would have died, because the great part of the Christians had gone out to see the Indians on their estates, because, up to that time, none had done so, there being but few Spaniards, and they not daring to go out singly [into the country], and also because

of the quarrels between Joan Pizarro and Almagro. And at this time Don Diego de Almagro went to Chile with so many troops that it seemed to them [the Indians] that everything was safe. And certainly Mango Inga had chosen the best opportunity and season for rising up, for Almagro was now far off, and was now entering the deserts which there are between this land and that of Chile, and which are more than two hundred leagues [wide] in some places. When Mango Inga was made a prisoner in this manner and was placed under guard, Hernando Pizarro, who had gone from Caxamalca to Spain, bearing the treasure of His Majesty, returned. When he had arrived at the city of the Kings, the Marquis sent him to Cuzco, giving him [high] authority, but not taking away from his brother Juan Pizarro the post of corregidor, albeit he gave authority over him to Hernando Pizarro. On arriving at Cuzco, Hernando Pizarro endeavoured to make a friend of Mango Inga; and thus he did, setting him at liberty and flattering him, for it likewise

appeared to him [Hernando Pizarro] that, with the number of troops he had brought to Cuzco, and with those who had come thither after the capture of this Indian, he [Mango] would not dare to follow out his evil plan of rising in rebellion. Having been released, Mango Inga was at liberty some days, at the end of which he asked permission of Hernando Pizarro [to leave the city], saying that he wished to go and bring a golden man which was hidden in a certain place, and Hernando Pizarro granted him leave. He went, and at the end of eight days he brought back an orejon made of hollow gold, and he gave it to Hernando Pizarro. Then, after some days, he again asked Hernando Pizarro for permission [to leave the city], saying that he wished to go in search of another Indian made of solid gold, which he said was at Yucay. And, the permission being granted to him, he went and did not return before he had begun to stir up the land and the Indians and the orejones who had remained in Cuzco and the mamaconas. All of these wept after him. Mango Inga took refuge in the Andes,

which is a land of very lofty and rugged mountains and very bad passes which it is impossible for horses to enter. And thither came many orejon captains from all over the land, in order that all the natives who could take arms should gather together and should lay siege to Cuzco and should kill all of us Spaniards who were there. When Hernando Pizarro learned that a force of warriors was being assembled at Yucay, he ordered Joan Pizarro his brother to go, with seventy cavalymen, to disperse the gathering there being made, and after we went there [we saw] on the other side of the very large river which there is in this [valley of] Yucay some ten thousand Indian warriors who believed that we would not be able to cross the river. Seeing this, Joan Pizarro ordered all of us to throw ourselves into the river and swim across it with our horses, and, with him doing so the first, we all followed him, and thus we crossed the river by swimming and attacked the Indian warriors and routed them, and the Indians withdrew to some high peaks toward

the mountains where the horses could not climb up. And while we were here for three or four days, Hernando Pizarro sent to call us with all speed, giving us to understand that a great force of troops was marching upon Cuzco, and so it was that, when we returned, we found many squadrons of troops who were continually arriving, and were camping in the roughest spots around Cuzco, waiting for all [their troops] to arrive, and when they had all come they camped on the plains and the heights. So numerous were the [Indian] troops who came here that they covered the fields, and by day it looked as if a black cloth had been spread over the ground for half a league around this city of Cuzco. At night there were so many fires that it looked like nothing other than a very serene sky full of stars. There was so much shouting and din of voices that all of us were astonished. When all the troops who that Inga had sent to assemble had arrived, it was understood, and the Indians said, that there were two hundred thousand of them who had come

to lay siege [to Cuzco]. When they were all assembled, as I say, one morning they began to set fire to all parts of Cuzco, and, by means of this fire they were gaining many portions of the town, making palisades in the streets so that the Spaniards could not go out through them. We Spaniards gathered together in the plaza and in the houses adjoining it, such as Hatuncancha. [I have already told where the Spaniards were lodged when we entered Cuzco for the first time], and here we were all collected, and some were in tents in the plaza, because the Indians had taken and burned all the rest of the town. And, in order to burn down these dwellings where, as I say, we were, they made [use of] a stratagem which was that of taking several round stones and of throwing them in the fire, where they became red hot. Wrapping them up in cotton, they threw them by means of slings into the houses which they could not reach by means of throwing by hand, and thus they burned our houses before we understood how. At other times they shot flaming arrows at

the houses, which, as they were of straw, soon took fire. While we were in this confusion, Hernando Pizarro divided the troops into three parties of cavalry, creating captains for them. To Gonzalo Pizarro his brother he gave one, to Grabiél de Rojas he gave another, and to Hernando Ponce de Leon he gave the other. These Indians had us so hard pressed and in so much confusion that it is certain that our Lord was pleased to deliver us by his own hands, because [we would surely have perished] on account of the many Indian warriors there were and on account of the small number of us Spaniards, not even two hundred all told, and of these only seventy or eighty cavalrymen did the fighting, because the rest were non-fighters and infantrymen, and these last did but little, for the Indians hold them in slight account, and it was certainly true that an Indian could fight better than a Spanish foot-soldier because the Indians are very free [in their movements] and they shoot at the Spaniards from a distance, and before the Spaniards can come up with them, they

have dashed off to some other place than that from which they fired the first shot and so they [the Indians] wear them out, and the Indians being so many they would kill them [the Spaniards] by means of cudgels. But the cavalry they feared greatly because they [the cavalry] could catch up with them and kill them as they swept by. Our Lord displayed to us his mercy in liberating us from so many foes and from such an evil land in order to enable us to avail ourselves of them. Hernando Pizarro agreed, therefore, [not to use] the infantry [much], making use [instead] of the cavalry for this business, because the greater part of the infantry were thin and debilitated men. He ordered that they [the infantry?] should go by night with some leaders who were named for the purpose, and who were Pedro del Barco, Diego Mendez and Villacastin, to throw down the palisades which the Indians were building by day and, with some friendly Indians, some fifty or sixty Cañares, who had remained in the service of the Spaniards and were enemies of Mango Inga

on account of having been men of Quizquiz, to break down some terraces, so that by day the cavalry might sally forth to fight; all this was of but slight avail at that time.

This city of Cuzco is founded in a hollow between two ravines through which, when it rains, run two brooks of but little water, and when it does not rain, the one which passes by the plaza carries but little water, and it always runs through some strips of plains which there are between the hills and Cuzco. All the andenes were of cut stone in the place where it would be possible to throw them down, some of them being an estado high, others more, others less. Some of them have at intervals stones projecting from the stonework of the anden, a braza or less [apart] in the manner of a ladder by which they went up and came down. This arrangement they had on these andenes because on all of them they sowed maize. And in order that the water might not destroy them they had them thus surrounded by stone [walls] as great as the amount of earth required. This Cuzco

is overhung by a hill on the side where the fortress is, and on this side the Indians came down [from the fortress] to [a spot] near the plaza which belonged to Gonzalo Pizarro and Joan Pizarro his brother, and from here they did us much harm, for with slings they hurled stones into the plaza [of Cuzco] without our being able to prevent it. This place being steep, as I say, [and being accessible only] through a narrow lane which the Indians had seized, so that it was not possible to go up through it without all those who entered it being killed, and while we were thus in a sufficiency of uneasiness, for certainly there was much din on account of the loud cries and alarums which they gave and the trumpets and flutes ¹¹¹ which they sounded, so that it seemed as if the very earth trembled, Hernando Pizarro and his captains assembled many times to discuss what they should do, and some said that we ought to desert the town and leave it in flight; others said that we ought to establish ourselves in Hatuncancha, which was a great enclosure where

we might all be, and which, as I have already said, had but one doorway and a very high wall of stone masonry. And none of this advice was good, for had we sallied from Cuzco, they would have killed all of us in the bad passes and mountain fastnesses which there are, and had we taken refuge in the enclosure, they would have imprisoned us with adobes and stones because of the many troops which there were. So Hernando Pizarro was never in agreement, and he replied to them that we would all have to give up our lives and that we must not desert Cuzco. These consultations were attended by Hernando Pizarro and his brothers, by Grabiél de Rojas, Hernan Ponce de Leon and the treasurer Riquelme. Then, after they had had several meetings, Hernando Pizarro agreed that [an effort] to go and capture the fortress [should be made], for it was from there that we received the most harm, as I have said, because at the very beginning an agreement was not reached to take it before the Indians laid siege, nor was the importance of

holding it realized. This being agreed upon, a task was set us, and we of the cavalry were ordered to make ready with our arms to go and take it [the fortress], and Joan Pizarro his brother he [Hernando Pizarro] ordered to go as leader, and he gave the same orders to the other captains already mentioned. Hernando Pizarro remained in Cuzco with the infantry, all collected together where he ordered them to be. Then, a day before this sally, it befell that they [the Indians] shot a big stone from an anden, and it hit a soldier named Pedro del Barco, striking him on the head so that he fell upon the ground unconscious, and, seeing it, Joan Pizarro who was nearby, rushed to aid him, and then he was hit in the jaw by a large stone by which he was injured. I have wished to tell this in order [to explain] what I shall relate further on, concerning him. All the cavalry having set out, as I say, in order to take the fortress, taking Joan Pizarro as chief of all of them, we went up through Carmenga, a very narrow road, bordered on one side by a declivity and

on the other by a gully, deep in some places, and from this gully they did us much harm with stones and arrows, and they had broken down the road in some places and had made many holes in it. We went by this way and with much toil, for we kept stopping while the few friendly Indians, not even one hundred, whom we had with us filled up the holes and covered the road with adobes. Having climbed, with a sufficiency of hard work, up to a small flat place, where I said that they gave us the guacavara [battle] when we first entered Cuzco, and from there we went around some small hills and bad places in order to go and capture the flat part of the fortress where the principal gateway and entrance is, and in these little gullies we had encounters with the Indians, for they had almost captured two Spaniards who had fallen from their horses. When we arrived at the plain and gateway by which we were to enter, it was so well barricaded and so strong that, although we twice tried to enter, they forced us to retreat, wounding some horses, and so the captains

agreed to wait until midnight in order to attack them, because at that hour the Indians are somnolent and half asleep. To go back now to Hernando Pizarro, who remained in Cuzco. The Indians came out into the streets and entered the houses, because they believed that we were deserting the city. At another place they saw that Hernando Pizarro and the infantry were all together. They could not understand what was being done, and so they were astonished until they saw us attack the fortress from one side, and then they understood what we were doing. And it is certain that if the Indians had fallen upon the truth sooner, and that if God our Lord had not blinded them, they would have been able to slay very well Joan Pizarro and those who were with him before we could have returned to succour them. While Joan Pizarro and those of us who were with him were awaiting the coming of night, it grew dark, and Joan Pizarro ordered his brother Gonzalo Pizarro and the other captains to enter [the fortress] with half of the cavalry, whom he ordered to

alight, and [he commanded] the others to be on horseback ready to aid them, and Joan Pizarro remained with the mounted men, because he was not able to put armour upon his head, it being torn by the wound which he had received on his jaw, as I said, on the day they attacked him. Then, entering [the fortress], those who were going afoot began to throw down very slowly the first gateway which was barricaded with a wall of dry stone, and when it was taken down they began to go forward up a narrow path. And on arriving at the barricade of the other wall, they were perceived by the Indians, and these began to throw so many stones that the ground was torn up, and this caused the Spaniards to grow cool [to their task] and they desisted and did not press forward. While things were thus, a Spaniard cried out to Joan Pizarro, saying that the Spaniards were retreating and were fleeing. Hearing this cry, Joan Pizarro placed a shield upon his arm and hurled himself into the fortress, ordering us who were mounted to follow him, and so we did, and

with the arrival of Joan Pizarro and the mounted men at the second barricade and gateway, it was won, and we entered as far as a courtyard which is in the fortress. Then, from a terrace which is on one side of this courtyard, they showered us with so many stones and arrows that we could avail ourselves naught, and for this reason Joan Pizarro incited some infantrymen toward the terrace which I mention, which was low, so that some Spaniards might get up on it and drive the Indians from there. And while he was fighting with these Indians in order to drive them away, Joan Pizarro neglected to cover his head with his shield, and one of the many stones which they were hurling hit him on the head and broke his skull, and inside of a fortnight he died of this wound. Even though thus wounded, he was fighting with the Indians until this terrace was won, and when it was gained, they took him down to Cuzco by the road which, as I have said, goes down to Cuzco and is short and very steep, and from whence they did us harm

and now the Indians had left it, and by that road they took Joan Pizarro down to where Hernando Pizarro was. On learning the disaster which had befallen his brother and of the state in which the capture of the fortress was left, he [Hernando Pizarro] soon went up there, leaving Grabiél de Rojas [in charge] in Cuzco. When Hernando Pizarro arrived [at the fortress] it had already dawned, and we were all of this day and the next fighting with the Indians who had collected together on the two topmost levels, which could only be gained by means of thirst, awaiting the time when their water should give out, and so it happened that we were here two or three days until their water came to an end, and when it had given out, they hurled themselves from the highest walls, some in order to flee, and others in order to kill themselves, and others surrendered, and in this way they began to lose courage, and so was gained one level. And we arrived at the last level [which] had as its captain an orejon so valiant that the same might be written of him as has been

written of some Romans. This orejon bore a shield upon his arms and a sword in his hand and a cudgel in the shield-hand and a morion upon his head. These arms this man had taken from the Spaniards who had perished upon the roads, as well as many others which the Indians had in their possession. This orejon, then, marched like a lion from one end to another of the highest level of all, preventing the Spaniards who wished to mount with ladders from doing so, and killing the Indians who surrendered, for I understand that he killed more than thirty Indians because they [tried] to surrender and to glide down from the level, and he attacked them with blows upon the head from the cudgel which he carried in his hand. Whenever one of his men warned him that some Spaniard was climbing up in some place, he rushed at him like a lion, with his sword and grasping his shield. Seeing this, Hernando Pizarro commanded that three or four ladders be set up, so that while he was rushing to one point, they might climb up at another, for

the Indians which this orejon had with him were all now either surrendered or lacking in courage, and it was he alone who was fighting. And Hernando Pizarro ordered those Spaniards who climbed up not to kill this Indian but to take him alive, swearing that he would not kill him if he had him alive. Then, climbing up at two or three places, the Spaniards won the level. This orejon, perceiving that they had conquered him and had taken his stronghold at two or three points, threw down his arms, covered his head and face with his mantle and threw himself down from the level to a spot more than one hundred estados below, where he was shattered. Hernando Pizarro was much grieved that they had not taken him alive. Having won this fortress, Hernando Pizarro stationed here fifty infantrymen with a captain named Joan Ortiz, a native of Toledo, providing them with many vessels in which they had water and food, and fortifying the part where they were to be. And he left them some crossbows and arquebuses, and we went down to

Cuzco. And the taking of the fortress was the reason why the Indians withdrew a little, giving up the part of the city which they had gained. In this manner we were on the alert during more than two months, tearing down some andenes by night so that the horsemen might go up by that route, because the Indians always withdrew at night to the strongest and most secure place, and this withdrawal was always to some strong andenes.

Now I shall relate certain things which befell at this time. When Grabiél de Rojas was going out toward his dwelling, which was toward Andesuyos, at the exit from the town he received an arrow wound on the nose, and the arrow went as far in as the palate, and the Indians threw down upon Alonso de Toro and others who were going with him up a street toward the fortress so many stones and adobes from the walls, so that they dislodged them from their horses and half covered them up, and it was necessary to call the friendly Indians in order that they might be helped to crawl out half dead. While

Pedro Pizarro was mounting guard on a large anden, so that the Indians should not go forward, with two companions from the morning until mid-day, which was the arrangement that had been made, Hernan Ponce de Leon, who was his captain, came to rest and eat, and he [Pedro Pizarro] advanced to meet him as he was approaching his post, and he asked him to dismount there and there eat, and to send his horse to rest, taking another belonging to Alonso de Mesa, who was sick, and then return to mount guard, for he [Ponce de Leon] had no one else to send. Pedro Pizarro did so and, eating some mouthfuls of food, he took the horse of Alonso de Mesa and returned to a large anden which was an arquebuse-shot in length where he found one Maldonado, who was he who allotted the watches, and one Juan Clemente and one Francisco de la Puente. And when they saw him return they asked him how it was that he did so. When he told them the reason, Maldonado said: You stay here with these two gentlemen, because I wish to go and

eat and set the guards. This Maldonado was he whom Gonzalo Pizarro sent as messenger to His Majesty when he was in revolt. While they were in this talk about Maldonado's desire to go off, the Indian warriors drew near to them, and Maldonado attacked them with the others before Pizarro could come down from the anden whence he had been talking with them [Maldonado, etc.], and not seeing some great hollows which they [the Indians] had covered over beforehand, Maldonado fell into one with his horse, and Pedro Pizarro dashed after the Indians by some paths which they left between the holes, resisting the Indians and driving them away, and this gave Maldonado and his horse a chance to come out of the hole much injured and go to Cuzco. Then Pedro Pizarro and Juan Clemente remained in the said strong places, and the Indians drew very near, making mock of them. While this was going on, Pedro Pizarro said to his two companions: Let us drive off these Indians and catch up with some of them, for the holes lie behind us. But they

had not seen some other small ones which were placed in the end of the anden so that the horses should put their feet into them and fall down. And, spurting toward the Indians, all three dashed out, attacking them with lances. And from the middle of the anden the two companions returned to their post, but Pedro Pizarro impetuously went on lancing the Indians until [he came to] the end of the anden. And when he wished to wheel about, his horse put his feet in some small holes and fell, throwing Pedro Pizarro. Seeing this, the Indians dashed up to him, and one Indian came and took the horse by the reins and led him off. Then, raising himself, Pedro Pizarro made for the Indian who was taking away the horse and he gave him a stab in the breast which hurled him dead upon the ground. The horse being thus freed, the Indians threw many stones at him, and he began to flee, and he fled to the place where the other two [Spaniards] were. Then the Indians surrounded Pedro Pizarro with many slings, giving him many blows with stones

and lances. And Pedro Pizarro defended himself with a shield which he grasped and with a sword in his hand, making thrusts to one side or another at the Indians who drew near to him, killing and wounding some of them. When the two companions saw the free horse without its master, they hastened to aid him, and when they came to where Pedro Pizarro was fighting, they dashed through the Indians and placed him [Pizarro] between the two horses, telling him to seize the stirrups, and they took him at full speed for a distance [he running between the horses]. But the Indians who clung around were so numerous that it was all of no avail, and Pedro Pizarro, on account of his many arms and the weariness of fighting, could not now run, and he told his companions to stop for he was being throttled and that he preferred to die fighting than by being choked to death. And so he stopped and turned to fight with the Indians, and those on horseback did the same on their part, and they could not drive them [the Indians] off because they were very san-

guine, and believing that they [the Indians] had taken him [Pedro Pizarro] prisoner, they gave a great shout, all of them, from every side, which it was their wont to do when they took a Spaniard or a horse prisoner. Hearing this shout, Grabiél de Rojas, who was returning to his quarters with ten cavalymen, looked in the direction where he saw the disturbance and the fighting, and he hastened thither with his men, and by his arrival Pedro Pizarro was rescued, albeit much tormented by the blows which they had given him with stones and lances. And so Pedro Pizarro freed himself and his horse, our Lord God aiding him, and giving him the strength to fight and to support the toil. To another man, Garci Martin, they gave a blow in the eye with a stone which spoiled the eye. The Indians took away the horse of one Cisneros who had dismounted and was losing courage, and the Indians came up, took away his horse and then cut off his [Cisneros'] hands and feet. A good soldier named Joan Vasquez de Osuna placed Cisneros across his horse, for he never

could have mounted, not having the vigour, and thus we got him out from among the Indians. Mancio Serra, while going up a rather steep slope, was careless and fell off his horse, and the Indians came up and took him and cut off his hands and feet, for this is what the Indians did to all the horsemen whom they took. One day, while these things were going on, a company of Indians again appeared above Carmenga, and when some cavalrymen went out to meet them, they threw at them a sack containing the dried heads of seven Spaniards and many letters, and one of our Indians took it, thinking it was something else, and they found these heads of Spaniards, as I say, and [with them] the joyful news which came to this land of the taking of la Goleta and Tunez.¹¹² The Inga did this by the advice of a Spaniard whom he held prisoner and who told him that the heads of the dead men would give us much sorrow. The Spaniard did this so that we might have the joyful news. It is understood that, in this uprising of Mango Inga, more than three hundred

Spaniards died along the roads and in the towns, together with a few captains whom the Marquis sent to Cuzco with a few troops, such men as one captain Gaete [who died] in Xauxa, and a Diego Pizarro whom they killed there with the soldiers he was leading.

Now I shall relate a miracle which befell in Cuzco and by which the Indians were much dismayed. It happened that the Indians wished to set fire to the church, for they said that if they burned it, they would kill us all. It befell that the stone or arrow which should have set fire to the church, as I have already said, the church took fire and began to burn, for it was of straw, and, though no one put this fire out, it extinguished itself, and many of us saw it, for thus it was. And seeing this, many of the Indians were dismayed; and, as their food was running short, for the siege was now at the end of its fourth month, the Indians began to go away and to drop out [of the fight] and to go home to their lands, nor were their captains able to detain them, and [they did so] also because the time

for sowing the crops was at hand. And we learned afterwards that a captain named Gualparoca who was in the fortress came out with his men, and Mango Inga sent him to the city of the Kings in order to find out if the Spaniards who were there with the Marquis could be killed, telling him that if he killed them, *he* [Mango] would put an end to us by means of hunger and the evil passes [in the countryside]. And so, having gone to Lima, they say that they laid siege to it, and some Indians were engaged upon it. And as [the land around Lima] was yungas,¹¹³ and a bad land for mountaineers, they were there but a few days, and, seeing that they could [do no harm to] the Spaniards, they returned to the highlands.

From the time when they laid siege to the time when the fortress was taken something more than a month passed by, and in this interval the greatest torment and risk were supported. And when they attacked us from all sides and set fire [to the houses] we placed two Spaniards in the straw of the houses where we were so that they would not burn us up.

These two Spaniards did not hide themselves, believing that the Indians had already conquered us. Hernando Pizarro affronted one of these men, and he wished to hang the other, but [yielding to] demands, he desisted. Another Spaniard fled from us to the Indians, and they carried him to where Mango Inga was, which was in Tambo, and this man, as well as one Francisco Martin whom the Inga had with him and whom they had taken prisoner upon the road, the Inga kept with him, placing a guard over them, and did not kill them. And they believed whatever this Francisco Martin said and asked. Between the time when we took the fortress and the time when the Indians began to go away to their own lands, there passed by three months, and this interval having elapsed they withdrew to some high hills, and this state continued until, after another month, they went off to sow their crops, which makes the four months I mention. Finally all were gone, and the orejones and some warriors gathered together at Tambo where the Inga had forti-

fied himself, awaiting the passing of winter and the [harvesting of the] crops of the Indians. They said they were going to lay siege [to Cuzco] again. This Tambo is down the river from Yucay, in the direction of the Andes, for there is another Tambo in Condesuyo, as I have said, of which place the Ingas, Lords of this land, were natives, for thus they say themselves.¹¹⁴

Matters being in this state, Hernando Pizarro agreed to send fifteen cavalymen with a captain who was to go out by way of the Canches one night in order to go and inform the Marquis that we were still alive and [ask him to] send us aid. Having made ready fifteen men, whose names I shall tell here for they were the best horsemen and the strongest in war which there were, it was learned that if they went forth the people of Cuzco would be in peril for two reasons: The chief one was that [their going] would create a great weakness in [our powers] of sustaining the war, and the other was that if the Indians killed them, as there was great risk that they do upon the

road unless our Lord wished them to escape, the Indians would be re-invigourated and would take more courage in order to kill those who remained in Cuzco. Being in readiness and all prepared to set forth, Don Alonso Enriquez ¹¹⁵ and the treasurer Riquelme met together with other chief men, and they made a petition to Hernando Pizarro that he send them not, for if he did send them, Cuzco would be lost and His Majesty would be ill served, for they were the flower of those who were in readiness to go. I shall tell here the names of those of us who were in readiness to set forth: Juan de Pancorbo, Alonso de Mesa, Valdivieso, Pedro Pizarro, Hernando de Aldana, Alonso de Toro, Juan Jullio, Cárdenas, Escastenda, Miguel Cornejo, Solar, Tomas Vasquez, Joan Roman, Figueroa, Villafuerte. And certainly Don Alonso Enriquez and the treasurer Riquelme and others who opposed the going forth of these men were right, because many of them bore the brunt of the war and the defense of Cuzco. Having heard the petition, Hernando Pizarro changed his opinion, per-

ceiving that what they asked was well considered. So we remained some days, carrying on the war until the Indian warriors left us, as I have said. While matters were as I describe them, we lacked for food, especially for meat. Hernando Pizarro decided, therefore, that Grabel de Rojas should go forth with sixty men toward Gomacanche, a province which is thirteen or fourteen leagues from Cuzco in the direction of the Collao, and [he ordered him] not to go further away and to search among these Canches for some cattle and foodstuffs and, finding it, to return with it speedily. Having made ready, Rojas and those of us who were to go with him, set forth and thither we went, and we were there about twenty-five or thirty days, and we collected as many as two thousand head of cattle, and we returned to Cuzco with them without any untoward events. The Indians assembled upon the very high hills, and thence they yelled at us when we could not attack them. When we had returned to Cuzco and had rested for some days, we again made ready so

that we might go out with Hernan Ponce de Leon, and we went to Condesuyo to burn some villages and punish the folk whom we found there and to gather some food together, because in this Condesuyo it was that the first Christians were killed. They [the Indians] sent to summon one Simon Xuarez who had Indians there, and other [Spaniards] telling them that [if] they would go to see their villages they [the Indians] would give them tribute, and by means of this deceit they killed ten Spaniards, and in order to punish them for this and to bring back some food we went with this captain already mentioned, and we were there some days, although no people could be found on whom to inflict punishment. Collecting some food, we returned.

While we were in this Condesuyo, the Inga caused troops to gather at Xaquixaguana and in Chinchero, which is four leagues from Cuzco toward the place where he was. Hernando Pizarro learned this from some scouts whom they kept sending to reconnoitre in the country, and he sent [orders] to his brother Gon-

zalo Pizarro to attack them before they should finish assembling and should come to Cuzco. Gonzalo Pizarro set forth and attacked a part of the [Indian] troops who were in the region of Chinchero, where he overtook some Indians and routed them, and, returning by way of Xaquixaguana, he found a great body of troops assembled, and, dashing on to fight with them they [the Indians] constrained them to retreat to Cuzco, and the Indians gave chase and wore them out so much that they [the Indians] even laid hands upon the tails of the horses. And while they were thus coming [toward Cuzco] greatly fatigued and in grave danger, some friendly yanaconas came fleeing to give warning to Hernando Pizarro and to tell him of the grave peril in which his brother was. Hearing this, Hernando Pizarro ordered that all the bells should ring out in order that all the troops might assemble, and, having gathered together some cavalry, he went off with them to aid his brother and those who were with him, and both trotting and galloping he went more than a league

outside of Cuzco where he saw the Spaniards who were now in great danger for the horses could no longer run, but were coming instead very slowly, and Indians were hastening up from all directions. Then, Hernando Pizarro and those who were with him spurring their horses, they came to where they were, and with their arrival the Indians lost courage and dropped back, for they were hanging to the tails of the horses, as I say, and fighting with the Christians. And with this help those who were coming worn out took heart, and all together they returned to Cuzco. Here we were like all to be lost, for, Hernan Ponce having returned, as I say, we were all resting and were making ready to go to Tambo where the Inga had fortified himself, in order to drive him thence, because as he was there near the assemblies of troops, he sent them, from time to time, to Cuzco and its neighbourhood in order to prevent [our using] the pastures.

All having been made ready, as has been said, we set forth for Tambo, leaving Grabiél

de Rojas in Cuzco with the weakest troops, and when we were arrived we found Tambo so well fortified that it was a grim sight, for the place where Tambo is is very strong, and [it has] very high andenes of very large masonry walls, well fortified. It has but one entrance, and that is over against a very steep hill. And on all parts of it were many warriors with many large stones which they kept above in order to hurl them down whenever the Spaniards wished to enter and capture the gate. The doorway was high, with lofty walls on either side, and it was well stopped up with stone and mud in the form of a very thick wall of stone and mud with only a hole through which an Indian might enter on all fours. At another place near this village of Tambo the river of Yucay which there is large, runs very narrow and deep, and likewise, on that side, they have many very high andenes, very steep and strong. Then, before this Tambo, there is a tiny plain which is formed in front of the gate which I have mentioned, and this plain is near the

river already mentioned. Having crossed the river we took this plain, but when we wished to attack the gate, so many were the boulders and stones which they threw down at us that, even had there been many more Spaniards than there were of us, they would have slain us all. They killed one of our horses and wounded some Spaniards. With this event which overtook us, the [Indian] troops began to throw [stones?] down from a very steep hill which resembled nothing else than a very thick ant-hill. When we made two or three attempts to take this village, just so often did they turn and injure us by hand. Thus we continued all day until sunset. The Indians, without our knowing of it [beforehand] turned the river into the plain where we were, and, had we waited a longer time, we would all have perished. When we understood the trick which the Indians played upon us and that it was impossible to take this village at that time, Hernando Pizarro ordered us to retreat. And in the darkening night he sent all the foot-soldiers ahead and the luggage with some

mounted troops who were of his guard next, and he himself with other mounted troops took the middle, and he ordered Gonzalo Pizarro his brother with a few more of us cavalymen to take the rearguard, and in this formation we withdrew. And at the passage across the river the Indians attacked us with so much fury and with flaming axes which they carried that they killed some of the friendly Indians in our service without our being able to succour them. These Indians have a trait of character which makes them demons for following up a victory, and when they flee they are wet hens. And, seeing us retreat, they were here following up a victory, and they followed it up with much spirit. This night we retired to a village which is called Maray, a deserted place which is in the heights above the descent into this valley of Yucay, and from there all is flat country to the entrance to Cuzco. Returning thus shattered to Cuzco, as I say, it was ever in order to have six or eight horsemen out scouting the country. Then, on coming one day

toward Xaquixaguana in order to capture some Indians in order to know what they were doing, Gonzalo Pizarro, with six horsemen who were Pedro Pizarro, Alonso de Toro, Narvaez, Beltran del Conde, Cárdenas, Joan Lopez, it happened that a thousand Indian warriors crossed a plain from one range of mountains to the other, from Circa to Llaexa, just before reaching Xaquixaguana. When we saw them going through the plains we spurred our horses and caught up with them just as they were beginning to climb a hill where is the village called Circa. And catching them on the slope which they were climbing, we drove them all down on to the plain, and of the thousand Indians who, they say, were there only a few more than one hundred escaped. Some of them we killed, and some of them we took prisoners to Cuzco, and in Cuzco Hernando Pizarro ordered that their right hands be cut off, after which they were to go away. This the Indians said, for it [the hand-cutting] had placed great fear among them, and they did not dare now to come to

the plains. Then after some days had gone by, maize ran short, and Hernando Pizarro ordered his brother Gonzalo to go to Xaquixaguana with thirty cavalrymen and to stay there sheltering the friendly Indians who were to go [with him] in search of food [for in this Xaquixaguana there was much maize] and [he was ordered] to send each day six cavalrymen who were to go two leagues protecting the Indians who were bringing the food, and from Cuzco six other horsemen were to go forth for two leagues or until those coming from one direction should see those coming from another, and thus they proceeded until sunset, when some withdrew to Cuzco and others to Xaquixaguana. This order was given in order to protect the friendly Indians who were going and coming for food. It befell one day when six of us had set forth upon this vexatious guard duty, which was common in this land later on, Lucas Martinez, Cárdenas, Miguel Cornejo, Juan Flores, Pedro Pizarro. When we had mounted guard near a gully where Machicao later built his

mill, and when we had mounted in order to go forward two by two, Miguel Cornejo and Pedro Pizarro were the two last. While we were thus journeying we heard the friendly Indians cry out, saying: *Aucas, aucas*, which means in their language: *Indian warriors*. We all turned our faces to see what was forward, and we did not see the Indians because they were coming through the ravine, hidden between two hills. And, as we saw nothing, we believed that our friends were doing thus in order to spur one another on. We turned to journey onwards slowly and we had not gone ten paces when we heard the Indian warriors fighting with our friends, striking them upon the heads with clubs, which killed them. And at once we turned back at full speed, for it was upon a plain that this befell, and though we arrived speedily, we could not get more than two or three Indians, one of whom Miguel Cornejo slew and another Pedro Pizarro, and a third was trampled under foot and was killed by Pedro de Hinojosa. And all the rest climbed up some hills, because there

they were in good luck, for we could do them no more harm, and so we returned to Cuzco.

When we were in great anxiety at the beginning of the siege, we always kept watch, I should say every night. And [even] in the intervals of our repose we were armed and our horses were saddled and bridled, for the noise made by the Indians was so great that if one were not very tired he was not able to sleep. The rest of the time, until the Indians went away, we kept watch in our rooms. When they had gone we watched on alternate nights. This lasted for some six months, until Almagro returned from Chile, as I shall relate further on.

Now I wish to tell who the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and his brothers, and Don Diego de Almagro, were and what was their condition. Also I shall tell the names and lands of some of these conquerors whom I have mentioned, as many as I shall remember. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro was a son of Gonzalo Pizarro the One-eyed, a captain of men-at-arms and a native of Trujillo. He

[Francisco Pizarro] was a very Christian man, and very zealous in the service of His Majesty. He was tall and spare, having a good face and a thin beard. Personally he was valiant and vigourous, a truthful man. It was his custom whenever anyone asked him for anything always to say No. He said this in order that he might not fail to keep his word. And, though he said no, he always did in the end what was asked of him, if there were not reason against it. One morning a conqueror was waiting for him at the door of his dwelling, to ask him for [an encomienda of] Indians which was at Guaitara, and who afterwards belonged to Cárdenas, a citizen of Guamanga. The Marquis was accustomed to 'arise an hour before dawn. This conqueror, whose name I do not recall, was waiting for him, and the Marquis went out into Xauxa from his dwelling in order to go to that of his secretary Pero Sancho. This fellow came up to the Marquis and said to him: Lord, will not your Lordship give me food? The Marquis replied: I tell you I do not wish to; did you not hear a

proclamation which was made? Why then do you not settle down, then food would have been given to you. This man then said to him: Lord, I wished to go to Castille, and for that reason I did not settle, and now I have failed to go. The Marquis turned to say to him: I tell you I do not wish to, for I have nothing to give you. The man said to him: Will not your Lordship give me Guaitara? Again he replied: I tell you that I do not wish to do so. These words were exchanged while they were walking, and before arriving at his secretary's dwelling, he turned to the man who made the request and said to him: Tell me, is that Guaitara granted? The man replied: No, my Lord. The Marquis answered: Take it, and go so that they may give you the deposit. I have wished to tell this in order that his goodness might be understood. Don Diego de Almagro was the opposite, for he said yes to all and fulfilled his word with very few. This Don Diego de Almagro never was found in debt. He said he came from Almagro. He was a very

profane man of very bad language, and when he was angered he treated very badly those who were with him, even though they were gentlemen, and for this reason the Marquis did not entrust him with troops, for they went with him very unwillingly. This Almagro was well made, valiant in war, and a spendthrift, although he did but few favours, and those he did were profane and not done to those who served him.

The Marquis brought with him his three brothers, Hernando Pizarro, Joan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro. Hernando Pizarro was a man of very good stature, valiant, wise and brave, albeit a heavy man in the saddle. Joan Pizarro was valiant and very courageous, a good fellow, magnanimous and affable. Gonzalo Pizarro was valiant, but he knew little; he had a good countenance and a fine beard; he was a compact man, not large, and a very good cavalryman. Hernando de Soto was a small man, dexterous in Indian warfare and affable with the soldiers. They say that this Soto was a native of Badajoz. It

was he who went later to Florida as governor. Grabiél de Rojas was a very prudent man in war; he had a good person. They said that he was of the good Rojas family. Hernan Ponce de Leon was a well disposed man, cautious, and not a cavalryman. He was looked upon as a gentleman and was well educated. Joan de Pancorbo was a good soldier; he is a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Pancorbo. Alonso de Mesa was a good soldier; he is a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Toledo. Valdivieso was a good soldier and a very good man in war; he was regarded as a gentleman and was a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Toro. Pedro Pizarro was a man in the war and a very good cavalryman. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro took him [to Peru] at the age of fifteen years as his page, and he was eighteen when he began to take part in warfare. He distinguished himself in some things. He was of the good Pizarro family of Estremadura. This Pedro Pizarro was born in Toledo; he was a citizen of Xauxa, later of Cuzco, and now of Arequipa. Hernando de

Aldana was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and was regarded as a gentleman. Alonso de Toro was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and a native of Trujillo. He was regarded as a gentleman. Juan Jullio was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and was looked upon as a gentleman. Cárdenas was a good horseman and a good man in war; he was a citizen of Guamanga. Castenda was a good cavalryman and a good man in war; they said that he was from the Condado; he had Indians. Miguel Cornejo was a good man on horseback and in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and afterwards of Arequipa; he was from Salamanca. Solar was a good man in war and on horseback; he was a citizen of Cuzco. Tomás Vazquez was a good man on horseback and a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco. They said that he was from the Condado. Juan Roman was a good cavalryman and a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco. Figueroa was a good man on horseback and in war; he was a citizen of

Cuzco. Villafuerte was a good man in war; he was a citizen of Cuzco and afterwards of Arequipa. Of many others I might speak, but shall not do so for fear of prolixity. I have mentioned these because they were men distinguished in the war and by some grave peril, such as going from Cuzco to Lima when the land was all in revolt and the roads destroyed. In this siege of Cuzco there were seventy men distinguished in the war, and Hernando Pizarro had a proverb to the effect that with them he would dare to attack three times as many. Of these seventy they selected fifteen, and of these fifteen three are alive today: Pedro Pizarro, citizen of Arequipa; Joan de Pancorbo and Alonso de Mesa, citizens of Cuzco.

Now I shall return to the war. While we were in Cuzco, as I have said, six horsemen went out every week to scout the country and find out if aid were coming from Lima. One day when he was out with six horsemen, Gonzalo Pizarro captured two Indians from whom we had the news that Don Diego de

Almagro was returning from Chile with all the troops he had taken with him, and it should not have been so, for, with his return, he set aflame this kingdom, and it was the beginning of the battles which have taken place therein, and [he was the] cause of the great number of pretenders, with such scant merits, as most pretenders are, and many of them hold, as the result of these battles, the best portions of the land. And the unfortunate men who conquered it [possess] the least valuable and most miserable portions [of the land], as I shall relate in part further on, together with the cause of it. We learned from these two Indians that there was in Xauxa a captain with soldiers, who afterwards transpired to be Alonso de Alvarado. He had set out from Lima in order to bring aid to Cuzco, and, at the request of Picado the secretary, who made him a captain, taking that office away from Pedro de Lerma, for it had been agreed that Alonso de Alvarado, who was in Chachapoyas, should come to Xauxa, he promised Picado that he would not set forth from Xauxa without leaving the

Indians and shepherds whom he [Picado] held in encomienda there in a state of pacification, nor did he understand that, until the leader [of the Indians] who was Mango Inga should be overthrown, it was impossible to hold any province in peace. Alonso de Alvarado, then, by stopping in Xauxa, for the reason I have related, during four or five months, was the cause of Almagro's entering Cuzco before him. For, had Alonso de Alvarado entered first, and had Hernando Pizarro been made powerful with Spanish soldiery, as he would have been with the arrival of Alvarado, had he arrived first, Don Diego de Almagro would never have dared to do what he did do in Cuzco upon his arrival there. And so [it may be said] neither would he [Almagro] have been killed, nor would so many misadventures and battles have befallen as those which began at this time. While we were in possession of this news, within a few days came other, to the effect that Almagro and his troops had arrived at Urcos, six leagues from Cuzco, and from here he was treating, by means of

Indian messengers, with Mango Inga, who was his friend, as I have said, on account of his [Almagro's] having killed, at his request, his two brothers before setting out for Chile. Then Almagro sent one Rui Diaz to Mango Inga as a messenger, asking him [Mango] to come out in peace for he [Almagro] was his friend. When Rui Diaz was arrived where Mango Inga was, he [Mango] received him very well, making enquiries after Almagro and his troops and other matters, and he kept him [Diaz] with him in this way for some days, and on the third day he [Mango] put a question to him which, according to what Rui Diaz reported, was in this form: Tell me, Rui Diaz, if I were to give to the King a very great treasure, would he withdraw all the Christians from this land? Rui Diaz replied: How much would you give? Rui Diaz said that he then had brought a fanega of maize and had it turned out upon the ground before Mango Inga, and of the pile he took one grain, and said: As much as this grain is the quantity of silver and gold which you have found for the

Christians, and in comparison what you have not found is as this fanega from which I take this grain. This maize is a food better than wheat, and these natives eat it, and it is found in all these Indies, and as it is now common in Spain I explain no further. Rui Diaz said to Mango Inga: Even though you were to give to the King all these peaks made in gold and silver, yet would he not draw from this land the Spaniards [in it]. Hearing this, Mango Inga said to him: Get you gone, Rui Diaz, and say to Almagro that he may go where he will, for I am bound to die, and all my people are, as well, until we have made an end to the Christians; get you gone soon, and say to Almagro that I come not to see him [because he had sent to ask him to come and have an interview in Yucay]. Having set forth from Tambo, Rui Diaz encountered Almagro half a league from this Tambo, for he was going to see the Inga [and find out] what had been agreed with him, and he [Almagro] was taking with him half of his troops, and the other half he had left at

Urcos, fortified in a fortress of stones which was there, in a narrow place at the entrance of the village. Hernando Pizarro, learning of the arrival of Almagro at Urcos, and not understanding the dealings which he had with the Inga, nor knowing how he had gone from Urcos to see him at Tambo, because, while these dealings were going on between the Inga and Almagro the Indians who served him [Pizarro?] were in peace, and so he could go by the road he took, for, had they been at war, it would have been impossible to go by that road without all being killed. So Hernando Pizarro ordered all his troops to make ready so that we might go to Urcos to find out if the arrival of Almagro was a fact, and to find out what was the cause of his having repaired thither instead of going to Cuzco. Having arrived at a plain which lies at the entrance of Urcos, having had some skirmishes with the Indians who were at war along the route, [we saw that] some of Almagro's Spaniards came out, armed as if for war, and with reserve they spoke to Hernando Pizarro, tell-

ing him that Almagro was not there, having gone to see the Inga. And from this Hernando Pizarro understood the evil intention with which Almagro had come, which was to take Cuzco by force, not keeping the sworn agreement which he had made with his companion the Marquis. And, though he [Almagro] might have settled in the Charcas or in Arequipa [he did not do so] neither did he do it in Chile. And, although his men besought him to settle a town there, he did not do so, for fear of lessening his forces and coming with less power to stir Cuzco up into rebellion and take it by force of arms, as he did. When Hernando Pizarro and those of us who were with him understood all that I have just said, he returned to Cuzco without stopping, fearing lest Don Diego de Almagro should enter Cuzco from Yucay before he got back. When we had arrived at Cuzco, Almagro had not yet set forth from Yucay, and on the morning of the next day those who had remained at Urcos and those who had gone with Almagro re-united into one force before

Cuzco. Well might Hernando Pizarro have routed the Spaniards who had remained in Urcos had he wished to do so, but he believed that Almagro would keep the sworn agreement which he had made with his companion the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. And, in order that His Majesty might not be ill served, he did not do so, although he well understood the evil intention which Almagro had.

Don Diego de Almagro having assembled his troops, as has been said, they all came together and established their Camp upon some andenes near Cuzco where now is the monastery of simple and pious Saint Francis. Before they arrived there and established themselves, Hernando Pizarro sent [a messenger] to talk with him [Almagro] and to ask him to take up his residence in one half of Cuzco while he [Hernando Pizarro] and those of us who were with him there would be in the other half, and [he suggested that] from there a messenger might be sent to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in order that he might know of his [Almagro's] coming and

might give orders as to the estate and situation of Don Diego de Almagro and his men. Don Diego de Almagro did not agree to this, but rather asked that Hernando Pizarro give Cuzco up to him freely. In all this there were many messages and proposals on the part of Hernando Pizarro, who well understood that it was not possible to prevent the evil purposes of Almagro, who never agreed to any plan or agreement which was made to him, save only that they give Cuzco up to him freely. While these matters were going on between them, a truce was made for the drawing up of these demands. And while this truce was still in force, and before it had half run its course, Don Diego de Almagro entered Cuzco one night at midnight with drum and fife from three sides, and he took Cuzco and entered the plaza without meeting with resistance, for he [Hernando Pizarro] did not know that he [Almagro] was going to break the truce, and soon the said Don Diego de Almagro with his chief men went to the houses where Hernando Pizarro lived, in order to

take him prisoner. Hernando Pizarro had with him some friends in a galpón where he was living [galpón means a dwelling], a very large one with an entrance at one end of the room from which could be seen the whole interior, for the doorway is so wide that it extends from one wall to the other, and it is open up to the roof. These Indians have these galpones for their orgies. They have others with the ends closed up and provided with many doors in the middle or to one side. These galpones are very large, without any partitions, being instead open and clear. While Hernando Pizarro was in this galpón, in the midst of the houses where he lived, [he heard] the noise which the entry of Almagro into Cuzco with his troops stirred up, and Hernando Pizarro with those of his men who were with him came out armed and stationed themselves at the door of this galpón. Almagro and his men, arrived at this door with the intention of taking him prisoner, and they were fighting there a great while, for, although those who were with Hernando Pizarro were

few, they [Almagro and his men] could not force an entrance through them. Hernando Pizarro had with him about twenty men, and Almagro had about three hundred, because, as I have said, Hernando Pizarro did not have more men with him on account of the truce and his belief that it would be kept. Hernan Ponce de Leon and Rojas and others here injured Hernando Pizarro, and they failed him and his friends, and for this reason, and on account of the truce, Almagro entered so much at his ease, for otherwise it would have cost him a goodly number of lives before he effected an entrance. While fighting, as I say, with Hernando Pizarro at the door of this galpón, Almagro having wounded some of those whom Hernando Pizarro had with him with darts, and seeing that Hernando Pizarro did not intend to surrender, he ordered that [the roof of] this galpón where Hernando Pizarro was, be set on fire, for it was of straw, and until it began to fall in flames, never would Hernando Pizarro have wished to give himself up, nor would he ever have done so

except for the fact that they would have held it against him and he would have been condemned if he [and his men] had been burned there. And, understanding this, and seeing that the fire was falling upon their shoulders, he yielded himself to capture. Almagro handed him over to his captain named Rodrigo Orgoñez, and with some of his most intimate friends in whom Almagro had the most faith they carried him [Pizarro] off to the houses of the Sun, as they were very strong houses, well enclosed, and there they kept him some days until a round tower was made ready in Caxana, houses where the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro was and where Hernando Pizarro was when they took him prisoner. Then, having fortified this tower by closing up the windows and door, leaving a small hole through which a man could crawl, they put him there, walled up, as I say. This Caxana had two round towers, one on one side of the door and the other upon the other side, I mean almost at the corners of this square [courtyard?]. These towers were of well made

masonry and very strong. They were round, covered with straw very strangely placed thus: The straw eaves stood out beyond the wall more than a *braza*, so that the shelter of this eave favoured the horsemen around the tower when it rained. These houses and rooms belonged to Guainacapa. The Indians burned [the roofs of] these towers when they laid siege [to Cuzco] with burning arrows or stones. So thick was the thatch that it took eight days or more for it to be entirely burned, or, I should say, before the wooden framework fell. They had closed these towers [at the top] with thick beams of wood with earth above like *azoteas*. In one of these they held Hernando Pizarro.¹¹⁶

Now I shall come back to the entry of Almagro into Cuzco. In the morning after having captured it they did not know whether to call us their men or traitors. They [the Almagrists] entered our houses and took away our property and horses. Here was begun the naming of traitors in this land and the beginning of battles and pillage was made. So

Almagro took prisoner some of the friends and kinsmen of Hernando Pizarro, such as Gonzalo Pizarro, Pedro Pizarro, Alonso de Toro, Solar, Cárdenas, and Xara, and so he held them for some days, though sometimes he let them go free and at others he took them prisoner again. He kept Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro prisoners always, under heavy guard.

While matters were in the situation described, Alonso de Alvarado arrived at Cochacaxa, which is twenty leagues from Cuzco, a little more or less, and near the river Avancay.¹¹⁷ In winter this river can not be forded, and in summer only with difficulty. Here Alonso de Alvarado learned of the entry of Almagro into Cuzco and of the imprisonment of Hernando Pizarro. And learning of it, he stopped in this place Cochacaxa, which is a high peak with a small flat place upon it, and on this flat place a lake, likewise small, is formed, which the Indians call Cocha, and for this reason they call this place Cochacaxa. From this peak and from this lake a slope of

almost a league goes down to the river of Avancay. Alvarado, upon learning of what had taken place in Cuzco, and leaving his men above in this Cochacaxa already mentioned, went down to the bridge of Avancay to capture it and build fortifications, and he did so as well at the ford as at the bridge. He and his best fighters were guarding the bridge and valley. And he despatched fifty horsemen to go and give the news of what had happened to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and of how he [Alvarado] commanded them to go down to the [coast] plains by way of Nasca, whence the road might be taken, in order that they might go without peril through the plains, for they would be able to go that way, the land being flat and having few inhabitants. I have already told how Picado took away the command of troops from Pedro de Lerma and gave it to Alonso de Alvarado for the reasons I have told, because this Picado, being the secretary, had so much influence with the Marquis that nothing was done unless he ordered it, and this was the cause of a suffi-

ciency of evil in this land, as I shall tell further on. Pedro de Lerma came with Alonso de Alvarado. Being fretful on account of the affront which he had received, he had many friends, important men, in the camp of Alvarado. Perceiving that he had an opportunity to avenge himself for the injury that had been done him, he plotted with his friends to write to Almagro [asking him] to come and attack them without fear, for they would give up to him the troops whom Alonso de Alvarado had, as well as Alvarado himself, as prisoners. And, although Almagro had had news of the arrival of Alonso de Alvarado, he had not dared to go and attack him, for Alonso de Alvarado had many very good troops, and he did not venture to go and fight with them. But, having received the letters which Lerma and his friends sent him, he made ready [to go], taking all the horses and arms of those of us who were in Cuzco with Hernando Pizarro, taking prisoner all those of whom he was suspicious and walling them up in the other round tower; leaving

Grabiél de Rojas as his lieutenant, he set forth with all his troops, and some who wished ill to Hernando Pizarro were in Cuzco as guards over him and the [other] prisoners. And the doors were walled up, leaving only very small windows through which food was passed. And so he [Almagro] set forth for Avancay, giving notice to Pedro de Lerma and his friends of his coming, and promising them great favours. When Pedro de Lerma and his friends learned of the coming of Almagro, they pretended to be very great partisans of the Marquis and of Alonso de Alvarado, and they tried to be stationed near the ford in order that they might distinguish themselves the more in the service of the Marquis. And, on receiving what they asked for, they gave news of it to Almagro, telling him to attack the bridge, and by night to turn and attack the ford at the quarter just before dawn, and that he would find everything flat and open. Almagro did this, and all day he was fighting at the bridge with some arquebuses and cross-bows, and in this fight, his

men say, Almagro killed three of Alvarado's men, among whom was a gentleman named, I believe, Don Francisco. When night was closing in, Almagro caused great fires to be built before the bridge, pretending to establish his Camp there. And leaving some soldiers to show themselves upon the bridge, he went with most of his troops to the ford. Crossing it without risk from the men who were there, he attacked those who were at the bridge, wounding some of them and overcoming others, and he took Alonso de Alvarado prisoner. And from here he passed on to Cochacaxa, and having come up to the troops who were there, he took them prisoner and stole all the luggage he found. And from here Almagro returned to Cuzco, taking all the troops with him, some going willingly and others in spite of themselves. And with Alvarado a prisoner under heavy ransom, he returned to Cuzco, and when he had arrived, he put Alonso de Alvarado in the same prison which held Hernando Pizarro. And this was the first battle and effrontery which there was

in Peru [and the beginning of] robberies and ill-treatment, for in this battle they affronted many, among whom were Pedro de Lerma who cudgelled one Samaniego who was in his company, and this Samaniego afterwards killed Pedro de Lerma at the battle of las Salinas.

Having done this, and having rested some days, Almagro determined to go and attack the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in order to take him prisoner if he could. All this Almagro did, so it is said, upon the advice of Diego de Alvarado and other gentlemen whom he had with him, and who came to these parts with Don Pedro de Alvarado.

While being engaged in his preparations for going to Lima, Almagro decided that we soldiers who were in Cuzco, together with some of those whom he had brought and some of those of Alonso de Alvarado [should join forces with him], and he formed a detachment of four hundred men, and he himself and some captains of his went with them against Tambo where the Inga was, sending him messages to come in peace, for otherwise he [Almagro]

would make war against him. When Mango Inga learned of the setting forth of Almagro and these troops against him, he deserted Tambo and retreated into the Andes.¹¹⁸ These Andes are some very thick forests with very lofty vegetation. All the year around it rains more or less in these Andes. In certain parts some few Indians are settled, but so few are they that those which up to the present have been seen do not number more than two hundred. These Indians understood the cultivation of an herb which is called coca among them, as I have said, for the Lords. And now many Spaniards have devoted themselves to making plantations of coca, for it is the thing which is worth the most and has the highest price that there is among these natives, and I believe that there is a yearly traffic in this herb to the amount of more than six hundred thousand pesos, and it has made many men rich. And may it please God that they be not poor in spirit, because, according to what is said, the natives die in this trade, especially those who enter the Andes, for it gives them a

sickness of the nose like that of Saint Anthony, and which has no cure, albeit there are some remedies for checking it, yet in the end it returns and kills them. This sickness attacks all those Indians who are not natives born and bred among these Andes, and it even touches some of those who are born there, and for this reason there are so few of them. In this land of the Andes there live many vipers and great serpents, and there have been serpents which attack men and kill them. It is a rugged land with many high peaks and ravines, and for this reason there are in the land many bad passes through which horses can not go unless the many bad places are paved with adobe at the cost of much labour. And although they use horses on the plains they can not be made use of until the whole woodland region is crossed, and it is very extensive, and in some places small plains are formed between mountain and mountain. These mountains slope toward the northern sea.

Almagro and his men having arrived at Tambo, and finding here neither the Inga nor

his warriours, he sent Rodrigo Orgoñez and Rui Diaz and others of his captains with the greater part of his soldiers after Mango Inga, and so they went giving chase to him as far as a village which is called Vitacos which they could reach with the horses, covering with adobe some bad places.¹¹⁹ And in this chase the Spaniards took many [Indian] men and recovered the two Spaniards whom the Inga had with him, Francisco Martin whom he had captured and the other one who had fled from us. Almagro wished to hang the fugitive, but he desisted at the request [of his men]. Mango Inga hid himself in the depths of the mountains with some troops, and for that reason he could not be taken prisoner. But I shall not treat of him until later. The troops whom Almagro had sent out from Tambo having returned, he and all his men returned to Cuzco, and, after resting for some days, Almagro determined to set out for Lima against Don Francisco Pizarro, believing that he could capture him with a few men and enter Lima, because he said that his jurisdiction began

there. Almagro planned this on finding how many troops he had, for he had brought from Chile more than three hundred men, and Alonso de Alvarado had gone down [to the coast] with more than five hundred, and of those of us who were in Cuzco more than sixty were of his party and wished ill to Hernando Pizarro, and among these were the treasurer Riquelme and the factor Mercado. But it turned out quite differently from what Almagro planned, for, as he showed such ill-treatment to those of us who were in Cuzco and those whom he took prisoner in the field and those of Alonso de Alvarado, twenty by twenty and ten by ten they fled away from him and passed over to the side of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. Almagro having set out with more than seven hundred men, he carried Hernando Pizarro with him, a prisoner, leaving in captivity in the tower where he [Hernando Pizarro] had been Gonzalo Pizarro his brother and Alonso de Alvarado, and in the other tower he left prisoner and walled up Pedro Pizarro, already mentioned, Alonso de

Toro and Cárdenas. This Pedro Pizarro and Alonso de Toro and Cárdenas are those who have been mentioned here many times, because there was not in this kingdom another Pedro Pizarro nor another Alonso de Toro other than these who have been named so many times, nor have there been other men of these names in later times. Almagro left Grabiél de Rojas as lieutenant-governor, charging him to keep a good guard upon the prisoners. But it befell that before Almagro set out he quarrelled with a gentleman whom he brought from Chile and who was called Lorenzo de Aldana, a native of Cáceres. He quarrelled, then, with this man because Aldana asked him to give him ten thousand pesos for his preparations for going with him, just as he [Almagro] had given [such a sum] to Diego de Alvarado and Gomez de Alvarado and others. When Almagro replied to him that he had nothing to give him, Aldana said to him: Well does your Lordship see that we come [from Chile] ruined and lost men [as indeed they did], and since your Lordship

has given to others, it is just that you grant me some aid, for if you do not give me it I shall not be able to go and serve your Lordship upon this journey. Then, giving loose rein to his tongue, as he was wont to do, they say that he said to Aldana: Stay, then, for we shall make war without Maria Aldana.¹²⁰ So, regretting this much, Aldana remained behind, and Almagro paid for it well. Some days after Almagro had gone away, taking Hernando Pizarro with him, Lorenzo de Aldana spoke secretly to certain friends whom he had in Cuzco and to others whom he believed to feel themselves injured by the entry which Almagro had made into Cuzco, calling upon them to aid him in setting free the prisoners whom, as I have said, Almagro had left there. And after he had gained some support, he exchanged letters with Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado. And having laid his plans, Aldana ordered the guards who watched these said prisoners one night to hand over the guard to friends to whom he had spoken, and while these were keeping watch they [the

prisoners] opened up two windows which these towers had and which gave on the courtyard, and, having opened them, the prisoners escaped, and when they were free their friends, who numbered as many as fifty, were guarding them, and they took some horses and captured Rojas and some arms, though only a few, because Almagro had taken all [the rest] with him. They prepared [to set forth] on this day when they were set free, and with all possible speed [they gave chase to Almagro] lest the news should reach him before they took him by means of going by some other road, for Almagro went down to Nasca which is in the plains; and Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado and the others who were going with him took an inland road, going to attack Guamanga, which is a road that leads toward the Andes, and from here they marched out upon Xauxa, and from Xauxa they went down to the valley of Lima where the Marquis was, and at this time Almagro was in Pachacama, four leagues from Lima. And, with the arrival of these men [Gonzalo Pizarro and his

men] the Marquis had great joy and Almagro felt sorrow. And soon he retired to Chincha, thirty leagues from Lima.

While he [Almagro] was in Chincha, some agreements were made, through the mediation of the licentiate Espinosa, acting for Almagro, and of Don Francisco de Godoy and a religious named Bobadilla, provincial of the Mercedarians, acting for the Marquis. These men agreed that Almagro and the Marquis should meet each other at Mala, a valley which is between Lima and Chincha, almost half of the thirty leagues distance from either, and to do this the Marquis set forth from Lima with seven hundred men whom he had all assembled and ready for war. Then he set up his Camp in some hollows and a valley which is called Chile, ten leagues from the city of the Kings, and from here he took twelve men in whom he trusted, and he took them with him to Mala, for it was agreed that they should meet here, as has been said, each one bringing with him twelve men. The Marquis left his brother Gonzalo Pizarro in

camp as general. When the Marquis had set out, Gonzalo Pizarro with the whole camp marched after him until he arrived at the river Mala, and there he took ambush in some groves which were near the river, placing among some reeds in the river-bed fifty arquebusiers, because the village where they were to meet was on the other side of the river, toward Chinchá, whence Almagro was to come, and up the stream, a little to one side of the highway. And they say that Almagro also took his whole camp and ambushed it, behind some hills just on the other side of Mala. The Marquis arrived first at this place which I have mentioned where they were to meet, and then Almagro arrived at the river, and arriving there he gave his horse a drink, and the arquebusiers of the Marquis, who, as I say, were in ambush, wished to shoot and kill him. Gonzalo Pizarro ordered them not to do any such thing, because he [the Marquis] was with them [Almagro and his men]. Then, his horse having drunk, he [Almagro] and the twelve who were with him

went to the Tambo where the Marquis was. Tambo is what these Indians call some large rooms which they have built by command of the Inga in order that he might lodge there while passing through his land or for his captains and governors whom he had stationed in the manner I have related. Almagro having arrived at this Tambo where the Marquis was awaiting him, they saw each other and spoke together, albeit not with the affection with which in other times they were wont to receive each other, for both were envenomed, the Marquis on account of the injury that had been done to his brothers and Almagro by the evil heart he bore and the evil works he had done, for, when they saw each other in Cuzco after the quarrels between Joan Pizarro and Almagro, they came to an agreement, and they poured forth their tears as it was their custom to do when they met after a long absence. And I speak truthfully when I say that all this [lack of harmony] was due to the evil counsels of those whom Don Pedro de Alvarado had brought to this land, for they

it was who began to set in flame this kingdom of Peru, a fire which has been great and has lasted long, for all the rest who came from Nicaragua and other parts were peaceful and quiet men. Here, if he had wished, the Marquis would have been able to capture and kill Almagro very much at his leisure, because his men were nearer to this Tambo and there were more of them, and because Almagro had but fifteen or twenty arquebusiers, whereas the Marquis had eighty or more, for at that time they were not as numerous in this kingdom as they are now. And there was no lack of evil counsellors who called to Gonzalo Pizarro's mind the remembrance of how Almagro had broken the truce, and who urged him to do the same since he had such a good occasion. But being advised of these desires, the Marquis sent to order his brother not to do that, for if he broke his word which he had given to the envoys of Almagro, he [the Marquis] would no longer have him for a brother, for the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro was a man who kept his word faithfully. Then, after there

had been complaints and recriminations between them, Almagro returned to Chincha, and the Marquis camped his men in this valley of Mala, and he told Almagro that if he did not set free his brother Hernando Pizarro whom he held prisoner, he would follow him until he took his life, and so he [the Marquis] marched as far as Guarco, which is a valley so called, and which is six leagues from Chincha where Almagro was. From here the envoys again treated between Don Diego de Almagro and the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, in order once more to make an agreement. It was finally agreed that Almagro should release Hernando Pizarro in order that the Marquis might be placated and that other concessions should be made. Almagro agreed to it, and released Hernando Pizarro. When he was released, the Marquis agreed that Don Diego de Almagro should settle the Charcas and Arequipa and in these villages should give sustenance to the men whom he had with him, and it was quite necessary that it be given them, the best of the land, even though

at that time the mines were not discovered, neither those of Potosi nor those of Porco, which is near this village of the Charcas, which the Marquis later settled, as will be told further on, and [it was stipulated] that he [Almagro] and the men he had brought should stay in these villages until a report was made to His Majesty, and until, in his turn, His Majesty should point out their boundaries. Almagro did not wish to agree to this unless they were to give him Cuzco. But the Marquis did not agree to this, for all the fame and wealth was in Cuzco, and so it cost the lives of both of them and those of more than two thousand other Spaniards. Then, as they did not agree, Almagro continued retreating and the Marquis went on following him, and in this way they went on until Almagro went up to Guaitara which is in the highlands, and the Marquis followed him, having some encounters, although not bloody ones, between the scouts. Then, on a plain which lies before Guaitara, very cold and having much snow, they were almost able to

see the camps of one another. On account of the thick snow which there was, the Marquis believed that he would not be able to catch up with the troops of Almagro, so he turned to re-form his forces in the valley of Yca which is forty leagues from the city of the Kings and the valley of Lima, and Almagro went on to Cuzco with all speed. When we were arrived at Yca with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, the Marquis re-formed all his troops, giving the command over them and sufficient powers to Hernando Pizarro whom he sent to follow Don Diego de Almagro and his troops and drive them beyond the limits of Cuzco. Hernando Pizarro set forth, taking with him Gonzalo Pizarro his brother, and Alonso de Alvarado and other captains, among them Castro and Diego de Urbina, and others whom I do not name in order not to be prolix. His forces counted some eight hundred infantry and horse, and among them were eighty arquebusiers. Having sent off this force, the Marquis returned to the city of the Kings at Lima, and Hernando Pizarro went up into the high-

lands by way of Nasca. This Nasca is sixty leagues from Lima. It is a valley of Yungas. These Yungas [live in] a very hot land of many deserts of sand with rivers that flow from the highlands to the northern sea and form some valleys, and here dwell these Indians whom I call Yungas. These valleys are very insalubrious for mountain folk; they have many groves of trees and many reedy swamps. In most of these valleys there are many mosquitoes which weary mankind, by day and by night. Hernando Pizarro having, as I say, gone up by way of Nasca into a province which is called Sorac, he went on from there by deserted and little-known roads so that Almagro might not learn whither he was going, and likewise so as to avoid two great rivers which are called Avancay and Apurima. These rivers flow to the northern sea. Then, proceeding by forced marches without Almagro's being able to learn where he would come out in order to descend into the valley of Cuzco, for Almagro was in Cuzco re-forming his troops, and because Hernando Pizarro

would make preparations to move in one direction and would then move in another, without previously informing either his captains or those of us who were his soldiers, because, when they made us ready to go in one direction, they led us in another, and this Hernando Pizarro did in order that they [the Almagrists] should not break down the bridge of a river which is called Aycha, where he finally came out ten leagues from Cuzco. But twelve or thirteen leagues before arriving at the bridge, he made ready three hundred horsemen, and he sent them off under the command of his brother Gonzalo Pizarro on one afternoon, without anyone understanding it or knowing where they were going, and with orders to go without stopping to take this bridge of Aycha and guard it so that it be not burned before he [Hernando Pizarro] should arrive. These Indians used bridges made of cables woven out of rushes, and these cables were two palms broad and long enough to stretch from one side of the river to the other and to have something left over. Then

they built some piles of very thick stone on one side and on the other [of the river], and these were traversed by very thick beams to which they tied these cables, joining some of them to others, and they fixed still others higher up in the manner of a balustrade on either hand. Then they laid down many canes of the thickness of a finger or less upon the cables, and they wove them very closely and evenly. And they set in place other canes woven back and forth so as to form a balustrade so that no one should fall down or even see down into the water below. They made these bridges so well and so strongly that the cavalry could cross over them very well.¹²¹

Gonzalo Pizarro having set out with the soldiers already mentioned, Hernando Pizarro remaining in the Camp with the rest of the troops, Gonzalo Pizarro and those of us who were going with him crossed the river which flows by Avancay, near which place it rises, half by swimming, and without stopping we went to the bridge of Aycha, which is at Purimac, and we found the bridge well made

and strong, and here we stopped, waiting until Hernando Pizarro should arrive with the rest of the troops, which he did in three days. When we arrived here, Almagro had news of our coming, and he put his men in readiness to await Hernando Pizarro. Almagro had more than eight hundred men, but, as I have said, he did not have more than fifteen or twenty arquebusiers. Upon the arrival of Hernando Pizarro we crossed the bridge, and returned in the direction of Cuzco, coming down into the valley two leagues from Cuzco. When Almagro learned of our arrival, which took place at night, and we stopped in that place until day came, he made ready all his troops and sallied out with them to Salinas, half a league from Cuzco, a place where the highway goes up a slope with a small flat place on one hand and a small swamp upon the other. Here Almagro stationed his men and formed his platoons, and near this swamp he placed a company of horse with a captain named Vasco de Guevara, who was a citizen of Lima and a native of Toledo, commanding

him to attack the infantry and arquebusiers of Hernando Pizarro, and thus he awaited us. Morning having come, Hernando Pizarro arranged his troops, dividing the cavalry into two parts so that if it were necessary they might attack in divisions, or, if not necessary, they might join together. He gave one part to Diego de Rojas and the marshal Alvarado; the other part he took himself with Gonzalo Pizarro, and two captains had charge of the infantry, a Castro, native of Portugal, being in command of the arquebusiers, and later he was killed by Peranzures in a sortie, and the pikemen being under the orders of Diego de Urbina. While Castro, the captain of the arquebusiers, was marching along in this formation he saw the swamp, and he placed himself and his men in it, and then his men began to scatter themselves [unwittingly] among those of Vasco de Guevara, who attacked them a little, but, seeing that they could have no avail on account of the swamp, they [Guevara and his men] withdrew and joined the platoon of Don Diego de Almagro.

Having seen this, Hernando Pizarro commanded that all the cavalry should reunite, and so he attacked those [the cavalry] of Almagro, and this battle lasted for a while, and in the end the men of Almagro fled, and Almagro went with some of them to the fortress [Sacsahuaman?]. Then the troops of Hernando Pizarro followed them, took them and bore them off to Cuzco where Hernando Pizarro put him [Almagro] in the tower where he [Almagro] had held *him* prisoner, taking out from this tower and the other one more than thirty men whom Almagro held prisoner and had walled up, because they were friends of Hernando Pizarro. Standing guard over these [Almagro's prisoners] was Noguerol de Ulloa, who was a citizen of Arequipa. On setting these men free, Hernando Pizarro placed here Almagro, and he held him prisoner, and after a trial of some months he cut off his head. And in this battle of Salinas almost two hundred men died, on one side or the other. Rodrigo Orgoñez, captain-general of Almagro, was killed. And many on both

sides came out of it wounded, and with all this, Hernando Pizarro did not consent to pilfering, as did Almagro in Chile, but instead he commanded that some horse which had been taken should be returned, as well as some piece of [silver] service and some slaves, to those who owned them, as well as all the other things which seemed to have been taken by his men while they were entering Cuzco and in the battle.¹²²

Almagro being dead, as I say, there were in Cuzco many troops gathered together, as well those of Almagro as those of Pizarro, and as, at that time, there were no pretenders as there are now, and as the Indians were not then given to everyone, but only to the meritorious men who took part in the discovery and conquest of this land, Hernando Pizarro determined to give permission to Pedro de Candia, one of the discoverers and conquerors of this kingdom, to make an entry into the Andes, which Pedro de Candia had wished to do many days before, because he said that he had information about a certain

province, very well populated and very rich, which they say is in these Andes, on the other side of the mountains and toward the northern sea. And today there is the same rumour and it has not been possible to find out about it so as to travel in the directions which shall lead to it.

When Hernando Pizarro saw the many troops who were without occupation, he granted leave to Pedro de Candia to make the journey which he wished to make, and he named him captain. And he [Candia] assembled three hundred or more men, and with them he started to enter the Andes directly from Cuzco, because in this is the news of [its] having a population. Wishing to enter [the Andes] and not having found any way of crossing the mountains, he went along the desert which lies between the Andes and some Canches Indians who are settled at the beginning of the Collao, and not finding any pass, he went on to these Canches who, as I say, are settled along the highway of the Collao, and as they did not find at once an-

other Peru, one Mesa, a mulatto whom Candia had as master of the camp, a valiant man whom Hernando Pizarro had had as captain of artillery in charge of some marksmen whom he had at las Salinas, plotted with Candia's men to mutiny. When news of this came to the ears of Hernando Pizarro, and as soon as he learned of it, he set forth with his friends in search of Candia and his men, and he caught up with them at a village of the Canches which is called Yanacoca, fourteen leagues from Cuzco, and he took Mesa and others prisoner, and he killed Mesa and another soldier, and he took away from Candia the command of the troops and gave it to Pero Anzures, sending Candia to Cuzco and its neighbourhood, for he was a citizen there. Peranzures took the troops whom Hernando Pizarro gave him, and journeying onward through the Collao, he entered the Andes from a village which they call Ayavirezama, and he found a road along which he passed through the mountains, and after that through some deserts where almost half the men he had with him perished of

hunger. Having crossed these deserts, he came upon a very powerful river, and, not being able to cross it, nor having the means for building boats, nor would it have been possible to cross the river with boats, he turned about, and going and coming, as I say, he left more than half his men dead of hunger.

When the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro learned of the imprisonment and death of Don Diego de Almagro, he felt deep regret that he had been killed, and he came to Cuzco, and on his arrival he learned that from the Desaguadero onward in the direction of Charcas the whole country was in revolt. This Desaguadero is formed near a village called Cipita which belongs to the province of Chucuito which His Majesty owns. This Desaguadero flows out of Lake Titicaca into that which is formed in the provinces of Carangas and Aullapas, as I have said. It flows two fathoms deep and is an arquebuse-shot in width. They have made a bridge for crossing it out of balsas made of rushes. Balsas mean nearly the same as boats, but they are flat and small.

These balsas are upon the water and are tied with cords of enea which hold them together and form a bridge like that across the river at Seville, which is built upon boats. When it was learned by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that all these people were still in revolt, he sent his brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, with two hundred men to pacify and conquer them. And while he was going along toward Charcas on the other side of this Desaguadero which I have mentioned, he found many warriors who were waiting for him there, believing that they were safe, having broken the bridge. When the Spaniards arrived there [at the bridge] they threw themselves into the river to the number of ten or twelve with their horses in order to swim over, but, because this Desaguadero is so deep and because so many weeds and reeds grow on its shores, the horses became tangled up in them, and they were not able to clamber out, and so they and their masters were drowned, the Indians aiding [their dying] with blows from stones. When Gonzalo Pizarro perceived the

disaster and that he could not cross over, he tried with some [Indian?] friends whom he had on this other side to make some balsas, and when they were made, certain Spaniards crossed over by night and attacked suddenly the Indians, causing them to flee, and the Spaniards had a chance to rebuild the bridge, because the Indian warriors had [parts of] it near at hand, for, when these [Indians] wish to break the bridge, they do nothing more than untwist the ropes on one side [of the river] and permit it to swing back to the other side. Things being thus, the Spaniards and their Indian friends brought it back into place and, when it was made fast, they passed over and marched on victorious until they reached a valley called Cochabamba where they [the Indians] besieged Gonzalo Pizarro and held him in great peril. And when this was learned by the Marquis, he despatched Hernando Pizarro his brother with another body of men, and until Hernando Pizarro arrived, Gonzalo Pizarro was beleaguered and in great danger. With the arrival of Her-

nando Pizarro, the Indians raised the siege, and so the Christians went onward conquering and pacifying the whole of the Collao and Charcas. At this time Hernando Pizarro found the mines of Porco and took that rich mine which he has there. From these mines and from some which are in Tarapaca, a coastal region, a league and a half from the sea, they were wont to get silver for the Ingas. And those of Potosi were worked in the time of the Spaniards, albeit the Indians had made some trials there. All this land having been quieted, Hernando Pizarro and his brother returned to Cuzco, and when they had come back the Marquis agreed that Hernando Pizarro should go to Spain and that Gonzalo Pizarro, his brother, should go against Mango Inga, who was in hiding in the Andes.

Now I shall first relate something about the mines of silver and gold which the Inga used to work in this kingdom. At the time when we Spaniards entered it, they were working the silver mine which Hernando Pizarro took in Porco, for thus is this place

where the mine is situated called, [and they were working] many other mines which were later discovered near this one, yielding rich metal which is almost half silver, but which have a great drawback, namely, that they very soon fill up with water and so can not be worked. There is another place where they likewise mined silver, as I have said, and it is called Tarapaca. It has this name of Tarapaca on account of a village which is so named and which is twelve leagues from these mines. These mines of Tarapaca are in some sandy wastes and it is twelve leagues to fresh water, and in some directions there is none within thirty or forty leagues. The silver ore which is in these mines is very rich, for most of the silver from these mines is white when smelted, and they even say that it has some admixture of gold. No fixed vein has been found. There are many springs [of silver] like veins in the ten leagues round about and wherever they dig they get silver ore, though some places are richer than others. On account of the great scarcity of water they [the

mines] are not worked, nor has all the richness which is in them been disclosed, because news has been received of a vein which the Indians have covered up, which was two feet wide, all of white silver, and which they say belonged to the Sun. This was learned through the event which I shall now relate. Lucas Martinez, a citizen of Cuzco and later of Arequipa, one of the conquerors of this kingdom, worked these mines because he held in encomienda this village of Tarapaca. While he was working in a cave where they first got out the silver for the Inga, he found some potatoes, round like cannon-balls, which these Indians call *papas*, as I have said, lying about loose in the ground, in weight two hundred pesos and three hundred and five hundred, and it befell that he found a *papa* that weighed a quintal. This place was worked at great cost, and these *papas* were found from time to time. It happened that Pedro Pizarro, he named here before, had near this place the Indians of his encomienda, and he had news from an Indian that there was

a richer mine than that which Lucas Martinez was working, and, on going in search of it, he found some holes which the Indians worked anciently, two musket-shots from the cave of Lucas Martinez. And when he asked the Indians what they got from there, they said copper, and they lied, for, on searching in a small hole which the Indians had left on one side of it [the cave], he found, a little more than two palms below the ground, stones like adobes, and more than three thousand pesos of these bricks of white silver were taken out, which was unusual, because, when the adobe was taken out, they merely hit it on top with a pick and a lump of fine metal which it contained would come out, and so it was left a plate of silver. Believing that it was the [chief?] vein, Pedro Pizarro spent more than twenty thousand pesos in this mine, digging eighteen estados into the living rock, but he found no more silver. When Lucas Martinez learned of this silver which Pedro Pizarro found at the beginning, he believed that it was the vein, and he threatened the caciques

of his encomienda of Tarapaca, saying that he was going to slay them for not having shown him that mine which Pedro Pizarro found. The caciques, believing that Lucas Martinez would misuse them, told him that he must feel no regrets, for they would give to him the mine of the Sun, which, as I have said, was a vein of white silver which they had not dared to disclose because their wizards had told them that they would all die and their fields would all dry up if they did so. Lucas Martinez gave them courage and bade them to have no fear, for their wizards did not speak soothly. While the caciques were determined to show it, one day before doing so the sun was eclipsed, and the Indians believed that the Sun was angered because they were to disclose his mine, and they did not understand the course of the sun, and they said to Lucas Martinez that they would all die if they showed him the mine, for the Sun was angry, and for that reason he had stopped in that way. Then Lucas Martinez gave them courage, telling them that, from time to time,

the sun did that, and he consoled them somewhat, and they said that they would go with him to show the mine. While they were going along the road, it chanced that the earth trembled very vigourously, and, seeing the eclipse of the sun and the trembling of the earth, they [the Indians] said that even though he might kill them, they would not disclose the mine, and so they persisted, and they were never willing to show where it was. This was in the time when Vaca de Castro was ruling this land. Here in this Tarapaca there is a great wealth in mines all covered up which, on account of the lack of water and of wood, is not discovered. Now men are going in search of them. These Indians used to work some gold mines at Chuquiabo where the city of La Paz now is, and they got gold in many other places which I will not mention here in order to avoid prolixity.

To return now to the departure of Hernando Pizarro for Spain, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and his brother with him, and many of the troops who accompanied him, went out

to a place a league above Cuzco called Guacavara on account of an encounter which was had there with the Indian warriors the first time we entered Cuzco, as I have said, because, in the language of these natives, Guacavara means Battle. Hernando Pizarro, on taking leave of his brother the Marquis at this place, said to him: Look, your Lordship, now that I am going to Spain, and see that the safety of all of us is first in God and then in your Lordship's life. I say this because the men of Chile are going about very mutinous, and if I were not going away, there would be nothing to fear. And Hernando Pizarro spoke the truth, for they trembled with fear of him. Let your Lordship make friends of them, giving sustenance to those who wish it, and do not permit those who wish nothing to assemble ten together within fifty leagues of wherever your Lordship may be, for if you let them assemble, they are bound to kill you. If they kill your Lordship, I shall conduct our business ill, and no memory of your Lordship will remain. Hernando Pizarro

said these words aloud, and we all heard them, and, embracing the Marquis, he set off and went away. Hernando Pizarro said these words to the Marquis because he was a wise man and because he had sought to make friends of the chief men from Chile and had offered to give them repartimientos, and they had neither accepted his advances nor had they wished to do so, and so none of them stayed within fifty leagues of where Hernando Pizarro was, and because the Marquis did not take this advice of his brother, those of Chile finally killed him. When Hernando Pizarro had set out, the Marquis commanded that three hundred of the most important men and captains and warriors should make ready so that we might go with Gonzalo Pizarro, his brother, into the Andes in search of Mango Inga.

Having made ready we set forth, and we penetrated as far into the Andes as the horses could go, and at that point we quit them with some troops to guard them, and we went onward afoot to the place where we were in-

formed that Mango Inga had fortified himself. While we were travelling one day by a very narrow road along which we could go only in single file, and which was near the place where Mango Inga had his stronghold, Gonzalo Pizarro was in the lead, and Pedro Pizarro was next to him, and Pedro del Barco came next to him, and then came all the rest following after. Now it befell that while we were thus marching along near the fort we passed through great and dense forests which there are there and the like of which we had not before seen in this land, and while we were travelling, as I say, Gonzalo Pizarro chanced to get a small stone into the space between his shoe and his foot. While taking off the shoe in order to take the stone out, he ordered the troops to halt, and, as they all came up behind one another, he ordered Pedro del Barco to take the lead and to go on slowly with the men, while he [Gonzalo Pizarro] took the stone out of his shoe and put his shoe on again. While Pedro del Barco was going onward with all the soldiers after him, they

found two bridges newly made in order to cross two small rivers which traversed the road, and, not being aware that they were made on purpose to lead the Spaniards into an ambuscade which the Indians had prepared for them, [they crossed them]. In this Pedro del Barco was seriously at fault, and he displayed very little sagacity in not understanding that enemies make bridges so that we might cross only under some deceitful plan. So, without stopping, Pedro del Barco and all the rest of the troops with him crossed over and soon they came upon a gentle slope without trees which came down from a very high mountain. This slope without trees was about one hundred paces wide, and at its end the forest again became very thick, and through it led a very narrow road which did not permit more than single file, and near this forest and gully ran these two streams of water which I have mentioned and over which the Indians had made the bridges. While marching, as I say, Pedro del Barco and his men [walked into the trap], not seeing any Indians

because they were all in ambush and hiding, and they entered upon this gentle slope which I mention in order to come to the narrow path through the forest, and when some twenty Spaniards had entered it, they [the Indians who were in hiding] hurled down this slope from above many large boulders. These boulders are large stones which they throw from above and which come rolling with much fury. When these boulders were thrown, as I say, they crushed three Spaniards and hurled their fragments into the river. When the Spaniards who had gone forward went onward into the forest, they found many Indian archers who began to shoot arrows at them and to wound them, and had they not found a narrow path by which they threw themselves into the river, all would have been killed, for they could not overcome these Indians on account of their being hidden among the trees. And thus were many Spaniards wounded, and five were killed. When Gonzalo Pizarro came up, he found that this evil thing had taken place, for it

was all a trap, and if the Indians had not been in so much haste to throw down the boulders they would have let more of the Spaniards enter the narrow road and the forest, and few or none of us would have escaped, because further on it was impossible to pass, as it appeared later, because upon the road by which we had to go, without being able to do so by another route, [was] a rock three estados high which they climbed by means of a ladder made of a tall thick beam, and above this rock they had made a wall of stones and they had many thick single stones which they could use to throw at those who wished to mount the rock. And three Indians who were on top of the rock could defend this pass and no force could take it from them. And then if they [the Spaniards] had turned back, they [the Indians] would have hurled down upon them these boulders which I mention, and few indeed would have escaped had they [the Indians] had enough forbearance to allow the Spaniards to enter [the forest] and then, in this way, throw down the boulders. When

Gonzalo Pizarro had seen the misfortune which had befallen us, he determined to retire, because there were many wounded, and many had become demoralized, and likewise because he understood that all the Indians who were in waiting there were safe. And taking note of this mountain and this bad passage, he waited here until midnight, and, sending the wounded on ahead, Gonzalo Pizarro himself remaining in the rear, he ordered Pedro Pizarro to go just behind him. And thus we retired, and we returned to where we had left the camp and the horses, and from there he sent a messenger to Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro giving him an account of what had taken place, and [requesting] that he send more troops. When the Marquis learned of the rout he did send more soldiers, and when they had arrived Gonzalo Pizarro turned back [to go] against this pass where Mango Inga was, like a very secure man. At the entrance of this narrow place which I have mentioned he [Mango] had made a stone wall with some loop-holes through which they

shot at us with four or five arquebuses which he had and which he had taken from the Spaniards, and as they did not know how to prime [*atacar*] the arquebuses, they could do us no harm, for the ball was left close to the mouth of the arquebuse and so fell to the ground on coming out. One morning after our arrival here one hundred of our best men were made ready to mount through a thickly wooded slope to a high peak where all the heights could be dominated so that these said passes might be cleared and so that we might outflank the Indians. So it was that Gonzalo Pizarro and half of us troops were facing the fort where Mango Inga was, while the rest secretly went up through the forests without the Indians becoming aware of it. And we kept making attacks as if we wished to take the fort, and at the hour of vespers and later the [other] Spaniards mounted through the wooded hills to a flat place which is formed on the other side of the mountain where Mango Inga had his stronghold. The Indians, on perceiving how the Spaniards were descending

from that place, came to give Mango Inga news of it at the fort, and when he learned of it, three Indians took him by the arms and, bearing him between them, carried him over the river which I mention and which runs close to this fort, and they bore him down the river a space and hid him in the forests, and the rest of the Indians who were there disappeared, and they fled in many directions, taking refuge in the woods. When we saw that they were fleeing, we dashed onwards to the fort, but no Indian could be captured, and so it was not learned that Mango Inga was there and that it was not he who had fled down the river. And before everything else we hurried up the road, believing that the Spaniards who had gone that way might have fallen in with him, and that for this reason he was not captured. For, had we known that he was in the fort, he would not have escaped us, because we Spaniards and [our Indian] friends would have found him if all of us had not gone up the mountain believing that he was there. And so Mango Inga had

a chance to betake himself away and hide himself in the forests with some Andes Indians of this land, who hid him.¹²³ And although we returned to seek for him and wandered about for two months from one place to another in pursuit of him, we were never able to find him, and so we returned to Cuzco, taking some of his people, and among them a woman of Mango Inga's who loved him greatly, and she was held in the belief that through her peace might come. Later on the Marquis ordered that this woman be killed at Yucay, causing her to be beaten with rods and pierced by arrows on account of a joke which Mango Inga played upon him and which I shall here relate. And I understand that, for this cruelty [and for one which he wrought upon] another sister of the Inga whom he ordered killed at Lima when the Indians laid siege to the city, who was called Azarpay, I believe that our Lord punished him in the end which was his, and [punished] Almagro for the brothers of the Inga whom he slew, as I have said.

While the Marquis was at Arequipa for the purpose of founding the settlement of Spaniards which he established there, news reached him that Mango Inga had sent messengers to Cuzco to tell the Marquis to go to Yucay, and to say that he himself would repair to him there in peace. When the Marquis received this news he set forth without founding the village, and, having arrived at Cuzco, he took twelve chosen men, for the Inga had besought him to go thither with but three or four, the more easily to betray and kill him, if so he might. But, being wary and suspicious, the Marquis chose, as I say, twelve men, and among them his brother Gonzalo Pizarro, and taking with him the wife of Mango Inga and the other woman, he went to Yucay, and from there he sent messengers to the Inga, and the Inga sent messengers to the Marquis, saying that he would come forth in peace. When this news reached the Marquis, he sent to him [Mango Inga] a foreign pony together with a negro and some presents and gifts. While

these were upon their way, Mango Inga sent certain warriors to attack the Marquis, and these captured the pony and the negro and killed them, as well as some of the Indians who were going with the presents. But some [Indian] friends made their escape and gave information about it to the Marquis, [telling] how the pony and the slave and the rest of the Indians had died, and in his anger about this the Marquis ordered that this wife of Mango Inga be killed. Tying her to a stake with some rushes, they beat her and shot at her with arrows until she died. The Spaniards who were present there said that this Indian woman never spoke a word nor uttered a complaint, and so she died under the blows and arrow shots which they gave her. It is a thing worthy of admiration that a woman should neither complain nor speak nor make any moaning even in the pain of her wounds in the moment of death. Then, too, in Lima, the Marquis ordered that another Indian woman, sister and wife of Atabalipa, whose name I have given, should be slain. This

Azarpay, when they killed Atabalipa, came to Xauxa with Tubalipa his brother, and after the death of this Tubalipa, the paymaster of His Majesty, Navarro, asked the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro for this Indian woman, believing that he would get through her a great treasure, and, indeed, she might well have given it to him, for she was one of the greatest ladies of this kingdom, and very highly venerated and esteemed by the natives. When this lady learned how the Marquis wished to give her to the paymaster Navarro, she disappeared one night and returned to Caxamalca. Then it befell that, when the land began to rise in revolt, Verdugo was in Caxamalca with some Spaniards, and, knowing about this lady, he took her prisoner and brought her to Lima and gave her to the Marquis. And while he held her in his dwelling the Indians came to lay siege to Lima. And a sister of hers, named Doña Inés, by whom he had Doña Francisca, being envious of this lady who was more important than she, told the Marquis it was by com-

mand of this lady [Azarpay] that the Indians had come to lay siege [to Lima] and that, unless he killed her, the Indians would not go away. So, without further consideration, he ordered that she be garroted and killed, whereas he might just as well have embarked her upon a ship and sent her from the land.¹²⁴

I have wished to tell about these two ladies for they were killed without consideration, and without regard to the fact that they were women and were blameless. And before I forget it, I shall relate a method which these Lords of this kingdom had for keeping the warriors contented and so that they be taken away from their lands as little as might be and [might experience few] long absences. These Lords, then, had in their camps and armies many unmarried women, the daughters of orejones, of caciques and of the chief men of the land, for, among these Indians, no account of it is taken whether or no their daughters be virgins, nor were they ever restrained until they were married. And, as I say, many of these women went with their fathers and

brothers to war, and they had the custom of going out into the fields on every rainless night, as well these women as the men, and they formed many choruses, each one being distant a little from the others. And the men took the women by the hands and the women the men, and they made, as I say, a closed circle, and while one of them sang in a high voice the others replied while dancing around and around. These dances were heard from afar off, and all the free women and unmarried Indian men hurried to them, the orejones going to one special place, and in each province it was the same. Then, while they were singing and dancing thus, it was the custom among them for the Indian man to take the Indian woman whom he held by the hand out of the circle and, going off a little way, to do his will with her, after which they came back to the dance, and so did they all do, each one in his turn. With this vice and with that of drinking, the warriors were kept contented, and they did not hanker for their lands. And for these warriors, as I say above, the Ingas

had great deposits of food in all the provinces, as well as stores of clothes and of all that was necessary for the soldiery, as I have said.

The Marquis determined to found two towns, the town of la Plata in the Charcas and that of Arequipa, cutting up the large repartimientos which he had given in order to create more citizens. In these settlements and repartimientos Picardo, the secretary of the Marquis, did much harm to many men, for the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, not knowing either how to read or how to write, trusted in him, and only did those things which he advised, and thus this man did much harm in these kingdoms, for he destroyed him who was not ever acting according to his [Picardo's own] will and serving him. And this man Picardo was the cause of the great hatred which those of Chile took to the Marquis and for which they killed him, for this man [Picardo] desired that all should reverence him, and those of Chile took little heed of him, and for this reason this man persecuted them much, and so it was that those of Chile

came to do what they did do. This fellow Picado was brought out by Don Pedro de Alvarado, and this said Picado went to command in this kingdom of Peru with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and the conquerors. And as the conquerors relied upon their services given to His Majesty in discovering and conquering this kingdom [to win them just rewards], they paid no heed to Picado nor respected him as he desired, and for this reason all the greater part of the conquerors were left with the smallest part [of the fruits of their labours] and with the worst luck of any of all those who today have encomiendas in this kingdom. And those who respected this man and wrought his desires, [profited much for] he had such weight with the Marquis that he gave them of the best, taking it away from them who had conquered and won it. And our Lord was served and he gave permission that, while this man was on his throne of power, those of Chile should subject him to tortures and cut off his head in the plaza of the city of the Kings, and, even

as he had endeavoured to take away the good fame of those who had conquered and won this kingdom with so much toil and so many deaths as those which occurred in it, so there remained no memory of him.

When the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro perceived that Mango Inga had made a mock of him in Yucay, as has been told, he went to Cuzco, and [presently] he made the settlement and founded the town of la Plata and the city of Arequipa, taking the best away from the conquerors and giving it to the friends of Picado and to men recently come from Spain who were present in the battle of las Salinas. On his [Picado's?] behalf, I say, they took away the best, for, as I have said, when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and we Spaniards entered Cuzco for the first time in order to found this city of Cuzco of Spaniards, and because they wished to remain and settle there, because of which they did remain, to the great peril of their lives, he gave and allotted to them who stayed there all the Indians of whom he had information, and later

he took them away, and he settled these men in these two towns, the town of Plata and the city of Arequipa, leaving, as I say, the worst and the least to those to whom previously he had given all things, and I speak [in accordance with] the opinion of his secretary Aman. When the foundation of these two villages was completed the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro returned to the city of the Kings where he was for some days until those of Chile assembled in this city under the plea that they were awaiting the arrival of Vaca de Castro who was coming as a judge to hold a *residencia* upon the Marquis. So all those of Chile [gathered] together in this city and awaited the arrival of Vaca de Castro so that if *he* did not kill Don Francisco Pizarro and did not give to them the land, they might kill *him*, together with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. But it so befell that when Vaca de Castro embarked at Panama in order to come to this land, he had so bad a voyage upon the sea that he had perforce to disembark at Buena Ventura, although I should call it

Mala [Ventura], because he who is coming to Peru and has to take port there against his will, as happened to Vaca de Castro, experiences a sufficiency of bad luck. Having, then, disembarked at this port, Vaca de Castro went up to Quito, very far from the city of the Kings, by seven hundred leagues. Then, those of Chile, seeing the long delay of Vaca de Castro and knowing that there was news of his embarkation at and departure from Panama, and, seeing that it was not known where he had taken port, they believed and suspected that he was dead, and so those of Chile determined to kill the Marquis and his friends and raise a revolt in the kingdom. They made so bold as to do this, for they saw that the Marquis was alone and without guards, for his brother Gonzalo Pizarro had gone to discover the great river which, flowing through the Andes, comes out into the northern sea, and he [Gonzalo Pizarro] entered [the forests] by way of Quito, and Orellana the one-eyed and Father Carbajal came out upon the northern ocean in a brigan-

tine which Gonzalo Pizarro had made on this river, sending Orellana and Father Carbajal with orders to go on ahead, a little distance at a time, scouting and awaiting him, and while Gonzalo Pizarro was going along the shore through the forests with his troops, this Orellana and those who were with him mutinied, and, without waiting for him [Gonzalo Pizarro], went off and came out upon the northern sea. Then, after going on, lost for some months, and suffering in these forests much hunger and many hardships, and not finding populated land, Gonzalo Pizarro and his troops returned to Quito. To return now to those of Chile who had no news of Vaca de Castro, and who determined to attack the Marquis on a Sunday when he was at mass and to kill him. The day before a priest named Henao went by night and warned Picado the secretary, saying to him: Those of Chile have planned to kill the Marquis and you and his friends when he goes out tomorrow to Sunday mass; this one of the plotters has told me in confession in order that I might

come to warn you. When Picado learned this, he went at once and told it to the Marquis, and he replied: This cleric wants a bishopric; now I tell you, Picado, that his head will answer for mine. The Marquis said this because more than six months before they had warned him from Cuzco and from all directions that those of Chile were going to assemble in Lima in order to slay him, and this was so well known that a citizen of Cuzco named Setiel, while he was with his Indians, was told by their cacique: I give you to understand that those of Chile are going to kill the Apoo macho. For thus were they wont to call him in this kingdom. Apoo with them means Lord and they call him who is old macho. When this [Spaniard] asked his cacique: How did you learn it? the cacique replied: My guaca told me about it. Guaca is what these people call the demon who speaks to them. His master said to him: Go, for you are lying. The Indian said to him: Come with me to my guaca and you will see what it says. Then this citizen went

with his cacique to the place where the guaca was, and speaking with it he [the cacique] said: You told me that they were going to kill the Apoo macho; say it before my master. This citizen said that he had heard a voice which replied to the Indian: It is true; I told you that they were going to slay him. Then this [Spanish] man was astonished, and he wrote to the Marquis [recounting] what he had heard. So to all those who spoke and wrote to him in this vein the Marquis replied: His head shall answer for mine. And fifty friends and servants, of whom plenty offered, were of more use. But having heard what Picado said to him, he sent to summon Doctor Juan Blasquez, his lieutenant-governor, and Francisco de Chaves, citizens of Lima, taking consultation with them as to what he should do. Juan Blasquez said to him: Let your Lordship have no fear, for while I have this staff in my hand none shall dare [to attack you]. And such health [i. e., faithfulness?] was his that he did as he said, and later the Indians of la Puna slew him and the bishop

while they were fleeing from those of Chile. This bishop was Fray Vicente de Valverde, the first bishop of Cuzco, and the first bishop in this kingdom. Then they agreed in this conference [between] the Marquis and Chaves and Velasquez that, on the following day, which was Sunday, the Marquis should not go out to mass, but that he should feign an indisposition, and that they should say mass for him in his house, and in the afternoon he was to request all the cavalry to mount and go to the dwelling of Don Diego de Almagro, who was called thus, like his father, and to take him prisoner, together with Juan de Rada and Joan Balsa, two servants who had belonged to his father and who were with Don Diego de Almagro the lad when all the meetings and plots took place. Having agreed upon this course, Doctor Juan Velazquez and Chaves went to their dwellings. When morning was come, those of Chile were in the dwelling of Don Diego, or I should say some were, those who were to go out afoot and enter the church, for during the night they had secretly

entered the dwelling of Don Diego de Almagro, which was hard by the cathedral where the Marquis was wont to go to mass, and all those of Chile were in readiness, and there were more than two hundred of them, for, on hearing of the mutiny, they all joined it. Now that the hour of mass was come, and seeing that the Marquis did not come out, they [the Almagrists] sent a Biscayan priest [who later went much with Centeno] to go and learn why it was that the Marquis did not fare forth to mass. Then it befell that the Marquis sent to ask for a priest [to come and] say mass for him. This Biscayan priest offered to say it. And they say that those of Chile sent after this cleric Juan Ortiz de Zárate, who is now a citizen of Charcas, and one Valdés, a scoundrel, [and] they sent them to see what the Marquis was doing that he came not forth to mass. And later those of Chile said that Joan Ortiz and Valdés had gone to tell them [the Almagrists] that they [Pizarro and his men] were warned, and so they used to sing afterwards *Ortizico fuê la*

espia y Valdés deste mal que hecho es — Little Ortiz and Valdés were the spies in this evil deed.

Those who were hidden in the house of Don Diego de Almagro being warned, they said that Juan de Rada and Don Diego and all the rest of them had agreed to go forth pretending that nothing was afoot and so break up the gathering and to deny it if they were questioned. While they were in agreement about this, they say, a Sant Millan from the bocudos of Segovia, not a valiant man, but rather a poor thing, was taken possession of by the devil, and he opened the door which was shut and went out into the street, armed and grasping a buckler, for all were waiting for the Marquis to go in to mass. This Sant Millan having opened the door, he threw himself into the street and, shouting aloud, he said: Come out all of ye and let us go to slay the Marquis, for if not I shall tell how we were ready to do it. Those inside and Juan de Rada seeing that they were discovered by the going out of Sant Millan, all

came out after him, shouting: Death to traitors. Fifteen or sixteen armed men went to the house of the Marquis where the Marquis was talking with Doctor Juan Velasquez and Francisco de Chaves and with his brother Francisco Martin, and in the hall there were more than forty men. Hearing the shouts, a page of the Marquis named Tordoya went to see what was forward, and [very soon] thereupon they killed him. But seeing the troops of Chile who were coming and the many other men who were approaching, he returned to the Marquis, crying out: My Lord, those of Chile are coming to slay your Lordship. Hearing this, the Marquis said to Francisco de Chaves, a gentleman of Trujillo who was married with Maria Descobar: Señor Chaves, shut that door and guard me while I arm myself. Chaves did just the contrary, they say with evil intent, because he knew that the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had left him the governorship in a will which he had made while he was sick during the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro. And

with this malicious purpose, believing that he would be left the governorship, he opened the door of the hall, which was shut, and went out, thinking that those of Chile would never kill him, for he had never been opposed to them. But when he came forth into a small passageway just beyond the door in order to go down some steps, those of Chile were going up the stairway, and there they met him, and they say that Chaves said: [Kill] not friends. But Juan de Rada, who was in the lead, gave a sign with his eye to those behind him to kill him [Chaves], and so they slew him half way up the steps, giving him many blows. Then those who were in the hall, and Doctor Juan Velasquez, threw themselves through a door and from that door into a corridor which gave upon the river, and they hurled themselves through some windows which there were in the corridor, and they began to flee, some in one direction, some in another, leaving the Marquis alone with his brother Francisco Martin and with the page Tordoya. When those of Chile came in they attacked Fran-

cisco Martin, who was in the door of the chamber with Tordoya. When the Marquis heard them entering, he came out with some breastplates half buckled on to aid his brother Francisco Martin, and they fought so sturdily with those of Chile that, although the latter came armed, while they were not, they killed two of them, and, in the end, as they were left alone and without arms, and as those of Chile were many, the latter gave them so many wounds that they killed the Marquis and his brother and his page. In all this time the Marquis received no succour, and when the citizens began to gather together, the plaza was already filled with Chilean cavalry and infantry. They say that the Marquis died asking for confession and making the † with his hand and with [his crucifix] pressed to his mouth.¹²⁵

The Marquis having been slain, those of Chile assembled more than three hundred men, and others joined them, who numbered more than five hundred. They took Picado prisoner, and, sending troops to Arequipa,

upon the road between Nasca and Yca in a desert which lies there, they took prisoner the factor Guillen Xuarez de Carbajal and Pedro Pizarro, and in Lima they captured Diego de Agüero and other friends of the Marquis. They took all the arms and horses which there were in the town and in the environs, and they caused arquebuses to be made by a master of the art who was in Lima, for a chaplain of Don Diego had discovered by deceitfully asking him to make an arquebuse for hunting [that the man knew how to do it] for it was his purpose, as they said later, to find out if he knew how to do it so that he could not deny that he did later on. For, as they had plotted to kill the Marquis and to raise the land in rebellion, they went about to discover who would make arquebuses for them, and so they sent out this cleric in order that, with guile, he might have a hunting arquebuse made and so find out who among the blacksmiths who were in Lima knew how to do it. And so, with this man's [the smith's] agency they made arquebuses, and they took him about

with them wherever they went in the battles and encounters which there have been in this land. I shall pass over them briefly, although I was in all of them in the service of His Majesty and under his Royal standard, except in that of Quito, in which I did not take part for the reason that Gonzalo Pizarro had taken away from me my Indians and had exiled me to Charcas because I did not wish to follow him. And of these [battles] other chroniclers treat, as I have learned, availing themselves of persons who have taken part in them, doing so for two reasons: to inform themselves of how events took place and to seek their interest [in return for which] they [the chroniclers] would mention them [the informants] in the chronicle, receiving two or three hundred ducats if they put them very prominently into what they wrote. They say this about Cieza in [respect to] a chronicle which he wished to write by means of what he heard, and, I believe, very little through what he saw, because, in truth, I do not know him as one of the first men who entered into this

kingdom. And, accordingly, all that I write in this document I saw and understood, except, as I say, the first discovery, up to the time when the Marquis went to ask for the governorship.¹²⁶

Returning now to those of Chile who were in Lima supplying themselves with arms and arquebuses, I shall relate what the citizens and justices did in the [other] cities. It so happened that, some days before, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had given leave to Perálvarez, a gentleman from Cáceres, to assemble as many as one hundred men and go into the [country of] the Chunchos, which is in the Andes and forests which I have mentioned. This Perálvarez being in the Collao with about thirty men whom he had collected, received news of the death of the Marquis, and he returned to Cuzco with the thirty men whom he had and with some others who joined him when the death of the Marquis was known. When he arrived in Cuzco, the citizens and soldiers who were there received him with much contentment and chose him

for their captain, and then they wrote to the city of Arequipa and to the town of la Plata [and] to Charcas, informing them how they had chosen as captain Perálvarez Holguin, and [inviting them] all to come to Cuzco and form a fighting force to resist those of Chile, [urging them] to come with all speed before those of Chile should learn of it. When the citizens of Arequipa received this news, they all assembled together and came to Cuzco, and there they took Garcilaso de la Vega as their captain, and those of the town of la Plata did likewise, bringing as their captain Pero Anzures. When all were thus brought together they chose as their leader Pedro Alvarez Holguin, and all in a body set forth for Xauxa in order to join forces with Alonso de Alvarado, who was in Chachapoyas, and who, they learned, had sixty men in readiness for war, and from there they went in search of Vaca de Castro.¹²⁷

I shall leave off, for the nonce, my account of those who were journeying as I say, and returning to those of Chile who were in Lima,

they determined to kill those whom they held prisoners who were: Don Gomez de Luna, Juan Ortiz de Guzman, one Chaves (a nephew of Francisco Chaves), Luis de Ribera, Pedro Pizarro, Manjarres, Espinosa, Navarro, and the secretary Picado. While they were in the determination to kill these men whom they held prisoners, and while they were very indignant because the bishop fray Vicente de Valverde and Doctor Velasquez had fled from them and, as I say, while fleeing in a balsa were killed by the Indians of the island of la Puna, as well as one Valdivieso whom I have named here, while they were in this determination to kill these men, the licentiate Niño who came from Spain arrived, and when those of Chile took counsel of him as to what they should do as regarded the death they wished to inflict upon these prisoners, they said that he had advised them not to do it, for it would appear clear that they were tyrannical and were acting against His Majesty, and that [if they desisted it would seem that] they had

not killed the Marquis out of passion felt by them on account of the death of Almagro. On this account, it was said, did they desist from killing those already named, and they tried to make friends of them, but they had no faith in five of these, who were Luis de Ribera, and Pedro Pizarro, and Monjarres, and Antonio Navarro, and Espinosa, whom they placed aboard a ship [in charge] of a skipper who was called Pero Gomez, placing arquebusiers over them as guards, and ordering the skipper to take them to the port of Arequipa.¹²⁸ These men saved themselves afterwards by giving to the skipper, Pero Gomez, five hundred ducats which Pedro Pizarro had in an order against the inspector Saucedo. The skipper one night set them free from their imprisonment and gave them arms with which they mutinied, together with the ship, and they went in search of Vaca de Castro, landing at Trujillo. Having won free of the bad opinion [in which the public] held those of Chile for wishing to kill those named, their fury broke loose in

their slaying of the secretary Picado and one Orihuela de Salamanca.¹²⁹

While [those of Chile] were making ready to go to Xauxa in search of Pero Alvarez, there were certain differences of opinion among them as to the leadership, and Juan de Rada took prisoner one captain Chaves of the Chileans and another [captain] Bachiller Enriquez, and a soldier who was one of those who had gone to kill the Marquis, and taking them prisoner one night [Rada caused his men] to take them to the sea where they placed them aboard a ship, and Bachiller Enriquez and Chaves were garroted and thrown into the ocean, and they exiled the soldier, and afterwards his name was kept quiet lest he be drawn and quartered. He who was the chief man in the camp of those of Chile was Juan de Rada,¹³⁰ and second place [was held by] Joan Balsa, who had been servants of Don Diego de Almagro, notwithstanding the fact that there were many high-born gentlemen among them, such as a brother of Diego de Alvarado whom

later, out of fear, they themselves killed in Cuzco, saying that he wished to make [himself] the leader and kill the son of Don Diego de Almagro whom they had as a figurehead, although he neither had charge of anything nor was fit to have. Those whom I mention being dead, Joan de Rada and the men of Chile set forth from Lima, some five hundred strong, and before they arrived at Xauxa some men fled from them, and among them were the factor Guillen Xuarez and his brother, the licentiate Carbajal and Pablo de Meneses. When they had arrived two days' journey from Xauxa, they received news that Pero Alvarez Holguin two days previously had gone hurriedly from Xauxa in order to avoid those of Chile [and that he and his men] were gone to join forces with Alonso de Alvarado, and that all together they had set up their Camp in a province which is called Guaraz, and from there they sent messages to Vaca de Castro who, they learned, was in Piura.¹³¹

Returning now to those of Chile, Joan de

Rada was ill from a blow which he had received in the leg when he went in to kill the Marquis and [was] on a stairway where he fell. When he learned what had befallen the people of Cuzco and that they [his men] could not stir them into revolt, this Joan de Rada felt such pain on understanding his doom that, they say, it made his leg swell up and gave him paroxysms, and when he arrived at Xauxa he died, leaving one Sotelo as chief of those [of Chile] with Joan Balsa [as lieutenant]. When they were arrived at Xauxa, they sent the brother of Diego de Almagro with troops to scout the coast and enter Arequipa, there to steal all that might be found, and then to go to Cuzco where they were to re-fit, and to make some artillery; and so they did, making many firearms of copper and three falconets, and they collected more than two hundred arquebuses. When Alvarado arrived at Cuzco from Arequipa they slew him, deceitfully saying that he wished to kill Don Diego de Almagro the lad. He had certain soldiers in his dwelling,

and they killed him even while they embraced him.

Being now very well prepared and supplied with all that they needed, they set forth in search of Vaca de Castro. Then Vaca de Castro learned of the troops who were in Guaraz, and, with those whom he himself brought, who had come from Puerto Viejo, Quito, Piura and other parts, he had a strong enough force to attack those of Chile, and we who had disembarked from the ship [at Trujillo] were [also] journeying from Piura, where we had fallen in with him, and, when we were arrived at Guaraz after short marches, Vaca de Castro rested there for some days, and, having made his troops ready, he marched toward Guamanga.

On arriving at Guamanga we had news that Don Diego the lad was coming in search of us and was now very near. The licentiate Vaca de Castro determined to go out to receive him, and so he ordered that we all go out with him, and we went to set up the Camp on some plains hard by the high bare

hills of Chupas, for so is [the place] called.¹³² While we were here we sent scouts every day [to explore], and we had news that he [Don Diego de Almagro the lad] was coming to give us battle, and, as it was learned later, on seeing the camp of Vaca de Castro from atop these hills, they wished to avoid us, and so, skirmishing with our men, they went retiring. Understanding their intention, Vaca de Castro marched with the whole camp against them, climbing the hills, and one hour before sundown a battle was joined which lasted until dark night descended, because certain squads of cavalry became confused, some with others, and stayed in the fight an hour and a half without knowing victory, and then they rested, being thus mixed up, to gain breath for new fighting; and so we kept on fighting, as I say, until nightfall, and our infantry sang the song of victory, and by this the cavalry of Almagro's side was disheartened, for they were divided into two parts and were fighting with two other squads made up of cavalry from our

side. And, in truth, we were in danger of being lost because Vaca de Castro took, from two companies of horse who were attacking one of the squads of Chilean cavalry, forty picked men in order that they might remain in his guard, for he believed that those of Chile would not divide up their cavalry, and he had set these two squads aside so that they might go to any point where there was need of them. But when those of Chile saw these two squads set apart, they divided their cavalry into two portions, sending the strongest against these especially good companies, believing that there was Vaca de Castro. So we, in these two companies, were forced to run into the greatest danger, and so, as I say, we had to rest three or four times, and as those of the main body of our cavalry and infantry were singing the victory, our two companies, with their captains, passed through the centre of our enemies, leaving them whole, for they were very well armed and were the flower of those of Chile, albeit we had killed almost

all their horses, because, as we could not wound them themselves, they being so well armed, we attacked the horses, and so we killed and wounded almost all of them. Then it befell that while we were singing the victory, Vaca de Castro, who was on a slope with the forty men whom, as I say, he had picked out, looking at the fighting, heard the [song of] victory of his troops and came on the run, and, as it was dark, he believed that he was passing among his own soldiers, but he entered [instead] a Chilean squad through which the two companies which I have mentioned had passed without being able to destroy them. When Vaca de Castro was recognized by those of Chile as the man who thus came among them, they began to attack [him and] his men with great fury, and so they wounded and killed some of Vaca de Castro's men and hurled them back upon themselves against their will. And so Vaca de Castro [finally] took refuge among his own men, who were now all gathered together into a squadron, and very desirous

of returning to attack these Chileans who had maltreated them [but] who had now fled, perceiving that they were now alone and that the rest of their side were now routed and in flight. The captain of these horsemen of Chile was one Hernando de Saavedra, a valiant lad.

Vaca de Castro, having won this victory, set forth on the morning of the next day for Guamanga, sending some captains ahead of him in order that they might gather together those of Chile who had gone to the churches and monasteries of Guamanga to hide themselves. Don Diego de Almagro the lad took the Cuzco road and went thither. When this was learned by Vaca de Castro he sent a captain with fifty cavalrymen in pursuit of him and they overtook and captured him in Cuzco. Another captain, Diego Mendez, went with four men to where Mango Inga was, who received them kindly and kept them in his company. These men came later to kill Mango Inga by a trick, giving him stabs with a knife which they carried hidden, for he

did not let them carry arms. These Spaniards did this because they found an opportunity for it, Mango Inga having sent [most of] the warriors whom he had with a captain to a certain place, and it chanced that this captain returned with the warriors the day on which they had killed Mango Inga, and he killed the Spaniards who had slain him [Mango], and if this captain had not come upon this day, Diego Mendez and the rest would have escaped.

When Vaca de Castro had arrived at Guamanga with the victory which he had gained upon the plains of Chupas, he there did justice upon the most guilty to the number of thirty men, and he exiled many others; others fled and could not be found. In this battle of Chupas more than two hundred men died on the two sides, and, among them, the general Pero Alvarez Holguin. Those of Chile numbered somewhat more than five hundred men. They had two hundred and fifty arquebusiers and three falconets which shot egg-shaped balls. Those of the cavalry were all armed with

trappings of copper and silver and with other arms which they had, and all were extremely well armed, forming a bellicose and courageous body of soldiers. Vaca de Castro had about seven hundred men, and among them something under three hundred arquebusiers. His troops were badly armed because their arms had been stolen by those of Chile, and there had been too little time to enable them to provide themselves with others. This punishment having been carried out, Vaca de Castro set forth from Cuzco, and having arrived there, he did justice upon Don Diego de Almagro the lad and others who were there. He was there for some time studying the affairs of government, and he had news that Gonzalo Pizarro had set forth from Quito and was coming to Cuzco with about twenty men. Then, in preparation for his coming, he [Castro] gathered his friends around him, and when Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at Cuzco with four or five men he received him well. And while they were thus for a space of some days, Gonzalo Pizarro asked for leave to go

to see some Indians whom he had in Charcas, and, when it was given to him, Gonzalo Pizarro set forth with three or four servants, and Vaca de Castro set forth for Lima, and on the road he had news of the coming of the Viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela.

I shall now enumerate the provinces which there are in this land. Puerto Viejo is a province. The island of la Puna is another. Tumbez and Solana and Pariña are another. Tangarala, la Chira and Pohechos are another. Piura, Sarran Motupe, Cinto and other small valleys which there are as far as Chimo where the city of Trujillo is now established form another. As far as the neighbourhood of Lima there are some valleys which count as one province. Lima, Pachama [*sic*], Chinchá, Yca, Lanasca, as far as Hacari, are another. From Hacari to Tambo is another. From Tambo to Tapica is another. This is along the coast of the southern ocean. Some of these provinces have a length of one hundred leagues and more, the greater part of it being desert. There are others sixty, fifty and

forty [leagues long] in the same nature as I describe, having many sandy wastes and deserts between one valley and the next. I shall now tell of the mountain provinces. Quito is a large province, and the Cañares, Tomebambas and Cajas form another province. Caxamalca, Guamalchuco and the Guambos form another province. Guailas is another province. Taramá and Atabillos and Bombon are another province. Xauxas Guancas is another province. Soras and Llucanas are another province. Chachapoyas is another province. Guanca Chupachos is another province. Guamanga is another province. From Xauxa to Cuzco there is the province of Andaguailas, another called Parcos de Orejones, another called Vilcas and some valleys which there are as far as Cuzco, such as Avancay, Aporima, Tambo, Xaquixaguana and Cuzco. These are almost all separate. Leaving Cuzco there is a province called Mohina. From Cuzco to Mohina there is a distance of four leagues, a valley entirely populated on both sides by orejones. Con-

desuyo is another province. It is very large and has many people, and has very mountainous land, and in this province there are different costumes. Notwithstanding that it was all called Condesuyo, this province is more than sixty leagues long. It is in the mountains toward the southern ocean. Leaving this Mohina already mentioned, there are other villages of orejones until one enters the province of the Canches. This province of the Canches measures twenty leagues. Beyond it is another province called Collao, which measures sixty leagues and more. On one side of this province are the Carangas, and there is another called Quillacas which borders upon this. Next to this comes another province which is called Charcas, another which is called Amparaes, and another which is called Chichas. From here one takes to the desert in order [to go to] Chile and Tucuman. Toward the northern ocean is the province of the Andes. This is a very long mountain-chain populated, in some places, very scantily. The Inga named and divided up all these

provinces just named into four parts: One, and the most important and having the most people and the best climate, was called Chinchá and Suyu, for they gave to this province the name which the village of Chinchá bore, because, as Atabalipa said when the Marquis asked him how it was that the Lord of Chinchá was carried in a litter whereas all the other Lords of the realm appeared before him bearing a burden and barefooted, this Lord of Chinchá was anciently the greatest Lord of the plains, and he used to send out from his village alone one hundred thousand balsas [to ride upon] the sea, and because he [Chinchá] was his [Atabalipa's] great friend, and on account of this greatness of Chinchá, they gave the name of Chinchá and Suyu to the lands from Cuzco to Quito, which is [a distance of] almost four hundred leagues. They gave a name to another part which they called Condesuyu, which is a province that contains others within itself [and lies] toward the southern ocean. Condesuyu bore this name of Conde because the Indians of this

province were called Condes. The third part they called Collasuyo because the Indians of this Collao call themselves Collas. This province contains others already named as far as the sea of the South. The distance from Mohina to Chichas where the desert is entered [to go to] Chile is more than one hundred and fifty leagues. The fourth province, which they called Andesuyo, is all of forests which stretch from Puerto Viejo to the river of la Plata, and one province, which is called Tucuman, has a length of five hundred leagues. They gave the name of Andesuyo to this mountain-chain toward the northern sea because the Indians who live in these mountains are called Andes, and in this manner they took these names which they fixed upon Chicha [*sic*] and Suyo, upon Condesuyo, Collasuyo and Andesuyo. Each of these provinces had languages almost the same, although they differed slightly.¹³³

Returning now to the coming of Blasco Nuñez Vela to this kingdom as Viceroy, he put so much confusion into all affairs [on

account of] the provisions which he brought against those who were living in this kingdom, because he came publishing and executing them [the provisions], that he was the cause of stirring into revolt this whole kingdom. And most of those in this kingdom set their eyes upon Gonzalo Pizarro in order to make him their chief and to postpone what Blasco Nuñez brought, and so they sent him letters from all the cities and towns calling him. While Gonzalo Pizarro was in a village of his called Chaquilla, they of the city of la Plata sent [messengers] to settle down there and to treat with him to go and be procurator general of these realms in order to beg [a postponement] of what Blasco Nuñez brought and other things which were to be introduced among them. When Gonzalo Pizarro understood the will of the people of this kingdom, he sent Diego Centeno and general Pedro de Hinojosa to Cuzco to learn if it were correct as to what they had written [from there] of their wishes, and in order to bring to Cuzco some falconets which Vaca de Castro had left

in Guamanga. And within a few days after these men had been sent off, he set forth for Cuzco, and there they named him as captain and procurator. While this was going on, Blasco Nuñez Vela entered the city of the Kings,¹³⁴ and, when he learned that the kingdom was in revolt and that Gonzalo Pizarro had entered Cuzco, he took Vaca de Castro prisoner, fixing upon him a blame which was not his, declaring that he had been the cause of the uprising of Gonzalo Pizarro, and this certainly was not the truth, for he who was to blame for everything was Blasco Nuñez and his too scant silence, and his way of coming into the country publishing broadcast all that he was going to do against the citizens and more besides. When the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez knew that Gonzalo Pizarro was gathering troops together, he sent some captains whom he appointed to go and collect troops and bring them to him, such as Gerónimo de Villegas, and this man did it for Gonzalo Pizarro and went to him. He [Nuñez] sent to Arequipa the treasurer Manuel Despinar

to bring the citizens, and some of them, like Pedro Pizarro, Gomez de Leon, Alonso Rodriguez, Picado,¹³⁵ Luis de Leon, Flores, went, but the rest went to Gonzalo Pizarro. Then, when we had arrived at Lima, we found that the oidores had taken the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela prisoner because he had killed the factor Guillen Xuarez de Carbajal for the reason that a body of soldiers had gone forth from his house to Gonzalo Pizarro.¹³⁶ When Gonzalo Pizarro learned of the imprisonment of the Viceroy, which he learned at Vilcas while coming toward the city of the Kings, and when he saw the many soldiers who were arriving in his camp, he came to the city of the Kings, where he was raised up as governor, and took prisoner all the citizens who had joined forces with Blasco Nuñez Vela, and he hung three of them before his master of the camp, Carbajal, arrived, and they were Pero del Barco, Martin de Florenzia, and other citizens of Guamanga. He held all the rest prisoners. Then it befell that Vaca de Castro fled in a ship where he was held a

prisoner, and in his anger over this, Gonzalo Pizarro ordered that all the prisoners be slain, among whom were the licentiate Carbajal, Vasco de Guevara, Alonso de Cáceres, Pedro Pizarro, Melchor Verdugo, Flores, Alonso Rodriguez, Picado, and others, I know not how many for I do not remember them. Then he ordered Carbajal, his master of the camp, to kill them. Carbajal went with one Verdugo and certain arquebusiers who were set as guard, and he ordered that priests be called to confess us, and the first man whom he ordered confessed was the licentiate Carbajal. And while he was occupied in this, a page of Gonzalo Pizarro's came to tell him not to kill us, for they told us later that, when he had told Carbajal to go and kill us, he searched his heart while on his bed, and it had seemed to him that he was committing a great cruelty in killing so many men. And when Carbajal arrived, they say that he [Pizarro] said to him: It appears to me a great cruelty to kill so many; how does it seem to you? And [they say] that Carbajal

said to him: It is as your Lordship says. It will be better to make friends of some of them, and to confiscate the Indians of the rest and exile them [the rest]. This seemed good [advice] to Gonzalo Pizarro, and he replied: Do, then, Carbajal, what seems to you to be best. In the morning the soldiers of Gonzalo Pizarro, when they did not see us all dead upon the plaza, stroked their chins, for they knew that Gonzalo Pizarro had ordered that they kill us not. Then Carbajal exiled Vasco de Guevara to Guamanga, and he exiled Pedro Pizarro, Luis de Leon, Alonso Rodriguez and Picado to the town of la Plata, and others to Chachapoyas, and the rest he took with him, and from some he took away their Indians, and then he set forth after Blasco Nuñez Vela who had been released before Gonzalo Pizarro entered Lima, first providing with his own hand corregidores for all the villages. He left Lorenzo de Aldana as corregidor of Lima, and of Cuzco Alonso de Toro. To Charcas he sent Francisco de Almendras and with him Diego Centeno to bear him aid,

and soon Almendras arrived at Charcas bringing with him as prisoners Pedro Pizarro, Luis de Leon and Picado and Esquivel, exiles, as I have said. Having arrived at the town of la Plata, Almendras made Diego Centeno alcalde. On behalf of Gonzalo Pizarro he cut off the head of Don Gomez de Luna; as a servitor of His Majesty he exiled Lope de Mendoza and four other citizens who were Retamoso, Vivanco, Herdon de Aldana and Luis Perdome. Gonzalo Pizarro went in pursuit of the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela as far as Quito and beyond it, and, as he could not catch up with him, he returned to Quito where he was until the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela returned with troops whom he had gathered in the new kingdom, and, believing that most of the men whom Gonzalo Pizarro had would pass over to his side when they saw his camp, he came to Quito, where he gave battle to Gonzalo Pizarro, and Gonzalo Pizarro vanquished him and killed him. And, leaving Pedro de Puelles as general in Quito, he returned to the city of the Kings, having sent

general Hinojosa to Panama with troops in order that he might be there [in case of need], having first sent one Machicao. He also sent one Palomino to Nicaragua.

To return now to Almendras, who was in the town of la Plata. It seemed best to Centeno to turn over a new leaf and to serve His Majesty, and, treating with us who were exiled and, by letter, with Lope de Mendoza, and having agreed that we should take Almendras prisoner and that we should raise the standard in favour of His Majesty, in order to be better able to do it, he besought Almendras to lift the ban of exile resting upon Mendoza and the rest. When leave was obtained and these men had come together, Centeno went one morning with some of us to the dwelling of Almendras before he had arisen, and he entered saying to him: We have news from Gonzalo Pizarro. Almendras said to him: Are they good news, brother? For thus they addressed one another, for they were great friends, because, before Centeno had Indians, Almendras had him in his house and had done

him many favours, for Almendras was a conqueror. Then Centeno came up to the bed where Almendras was, pretending to hold a letter, and he embraced him and said to him: You are a prisoner. Almendras said: For whom? Centeno replied: For the King.¹³⁷ Then said Almendras: Ah! My brother, where is our friendship? Then the rest who were with Centeno came up and took him prisoner and brought him to the dwelling of Centeno, and there he [Centeno] cut off his head, as well as that of another man of the party of Gonzalo Pizarro. Then the flag was raised in favour of His Majesty, and, with about one hundred men who joined us, we came to Chucuito where we stopped, hoping that more soldiers would be gathered together for us. When Toro, corregidor of Cuzco, learned this news, he assembled three hundred men and came against us. Learning of his coming, Centeno began to flee in retreat, and Toro pursued us until he scattered us, some in one direction and others in other [directions]. Centeno, with about forty men who could follow him, entered

the deserts and province of Chichas, and Toro returned to Cuzco. Centeno turned to come out and, having assembled some troops, came to establish himself at Paria. When Gonzalo Pizarro learned of the uprising of Centeno, he sent off Carbajal from the road to Quito, along which he was travelling, and when Carbajal was arrived at los Reyes, he there assembled some troops and came to Cuzco. And when he learned that Centeno was in Paria, he assembled four hundred men and went against him, causing him to flee. Centeno turned back to Arequipa, and Carbajal followed after him until he had taken away all his troops, and in this pursuit and capture he [Carbajal] hung more than twenty persons. Centeno and one Luis de Ribera already mentioned hid themselves in some hills, and the rest of us went in pairs wherever chance threw us, seeking where we might be hidden and so escape with our lives, although they took and hung some of us, among whom were Alonso Perez Castillejo, a citizen of Charcas, and Luis Leon, a citizen of Are-

quipa, whom they caught at Guamanga and killed, and in the city of Arequipa they killed two men. One Alonso de Avila, who was alcalde for Gonzalo Pizarro, killed them. While things were thus, Carbajal went to Charcas and fell in with certain troops who had set forth from the river of la Plata, who had gone with Felipe Gutierrez and with Francisco de Mendoza, a gentleman of Bustos de Estremadura. Then they killed this Mendoza so as to get out of this journey from the river of la Plata, for Mendoza, who was their captain, did not let them get out of it. Then it befell that Lope de Mendoza, he who was going with Centeno and who was master of the camp, had fled with four or five men toward Chichas, and he fell in with these soldiers who came from the river of la Plata, and he called upon them to aid him and to go against Carbajal, and they agreed to it. And all together, taking Lope de Mendoza as their leader, came in search of Carbajal, who was now near the town of la Plata. But news of this force came to Carbajal to the effect

that it contained about two hundred men. Carbajal repaired to the place where he took the command, and, assembling his troops and making them ready, [he saw] that they were somewhat more numerous than those of Lope de Mendoza, [and so] he went against him, who had taken refuge in the valley of Pocama because it was a strong place, and there they had their encounter, and Carbajal was almost lost, for if Mendoza's men had attacked him with courage, they would have routed him. But taking better courage, Carbajal conquered and dispersed them, and he killed Lope de Mendoza and hung many others, and so he vanquished them. And, on coming to the town of la Plata, he left as captain Alonso de Mendoza, and Carbajal returned in search of Gonzalo Pizarro, who was in Lima in a sufficiency of fear, for he had news of the coming of president Gasca and how he had taken over the fleet. This news was spread throughout all this land, and because of it we [who were] the servitors of His Majesty took courage and began to assemble more and to

sally forth in greater numbers. Then Arequipa arose in favour of His Majesty, taking prisoner Lucas Martinez, who was the corregidor of Gonzalo Pizarro. This was the first town to raise the standard of His Majesty on learning of the coming of president Gasca. When this was learned of by Centeno and Luis de Ribera, they came out from where they were, and, without entering Arequipa, they went to join some friends at Hatuncana, a village of Indians which is thirty leagues from Cuzco, and from there they exchanged letters with some friends in Cuzco who called upon him [Centeno] to go [to Cuzco] so that all together might join him in order to serve His Majesty. So Centeno assembled about thirty of his friends and, with them, went to Cuzco, and one night he entered it and most [of Centeno's men] surrendered up, for thus it had been agreed between them and the corregidor, who was Hinojosa, a citizen of Cuzco, who, for the honour he could gain, wished to betray Centeno. When this was learned of in Arequipa and its neighbourhood, those of us who

were in flight together came to Arequipa, and, all in a body, we set forth for Chucuito to wait for Centeno, who came with two hundred men whom he collected there, and all together we went to fortify ourselves at the Desaguadero. And while we were there, Alonso de Mendoza, whom, as I said, Carbajal had left in the town of la Plata, raised the standard of His Majesty, and came to join forces with us. When Gonzalo Pizarro learned this, he set forth from Lima, the flower of his troops having [already] fled from him, and he came in pursuit of us and gave us battle at Guarina, where he beat us on account of our lack of a captain, for Centeno was ill, and he did not take part in the battle, and by the good strategy of Carbajal we were vanquished. Our cavalry having overcome that of Gonzalo Pizarro, and Carbajal having, with his infantry, vanquished ours, he saw that our cavalry had his in a serious plight, and he gathered one hundred arquebusiers and ordered them to enter into our company of cavalry, which was all in confusion, and to look [for a signal from]

Gonzalo Pizarro so that the rest might shoot at once. And so it was that, with the entry of these arquebusiers among us, they wounded and killed many, and in spite of our quality they routed us. According to what was learned later on five hundred men, of the one side and the other, died [in this battle], and of Gonzalo Pizarro's men they say that not one hundred whole men were left. We of Centeno's force were more than seven hundred, and those of Pizarro were as many as five hundred. Having won this victory, Gonzalo Pizarro returned to Cuzco, sending Carbajal, the master of the camp, to Arequipa to sack it and to slay those who might be able to rise in rebellion against him, and to carry off the wives of citizens who were his enemies. And so it was done.

At this time the president Gasca was already in this land, at Xauxa, and, when he had the news of the defeat of Centeno, he collected troops from all sides, and those of us who came from Guarina with our lives came to join forces with him, and so, with about eight

hundred men, we went to Cuzco in search of Gonzalo Pizarro, passing through many hardships, as it was the winter season. And we were like to be lost at the place where we crossed the bridge which we made over the river that flows by Purima, because, if Gonzalo Pizarro had sent Carbajal with some men [against us], as they say he wished to be sent, and just as he [Pizarro] did send two hundred under Acosta to attack us after we had crossed, he would have beaten us and put us in peril flight. But some of us having crossed the bridge, we fell in with two men who were fleeing from Juan de Acosta to the camp of His Majesty, and they gave us news of his [Acosta's] coming, and, had Acosta travelled without stopping, he would have taken as many as one hundred of our men who had been able to cross [the river], and perhaps [he would have taken] a few more, and he would have killed us, for he brought two hundred and fifty men. And, as so few of us crossed over it seemed to him that we were warned, and he returned, and they said that Carbajal had

said to Gonzalo Pizarro: Lord, our Joan de Acosta has betrayed us; these men are coming forewarned. It seems to me that [it would be best for] your Lordship to go back to the Col-lao and leave me [here with] one hundred men, whom I will choose, so that I may go and face this chaplain. For thus he called the president. They say that Gonzalo Pizarro did not trust him enough to send him against the bridge. He [Pizarro] went out with all his troops to Xaquixaguana, and there he waited for us on a plain near a high hill down which we were coming. And certain it is that our Lord blinded his understanding, for, if he had waited for us at the foot of the slope, he would have done great harm among us. [But] they [Pizarro's forces] withdrew to a plain adjoining a marsh, believing that our army would attack them there, and that they would avail themselves of their advantageous position, and also of some pieces of artillery they had, in order to vanquish us. When we had come down the slope to the plain, the president ordered that his squadrons form and that we

all hold our ground until they should come to attack us. Carbajal then saw that we had understood his strategy, and he and all his troops lost faith, and some of them began to pass over into His Majesty's camp, and others to flee. Seeing this, we attacked them and captured Gonzalo Pizarro and Carbajal, his master of the camp, as well as all their captains, and so were they killed, and the land was reduced to the service of His Majesty. Gonzalo Pizarro had some good opportunities to yield himself to the service of His Majesty, but with his small intelligence he did not do so, although Carbajal advised him to do it. It was said that the licentiate Cepeda prevented it, as he was so guilty.¹³⁸

The war of Gonzalo Pizarro being over, president Gasca divided up the land, or I should say, that part of it which he held. He gave of the best to those who had been tyrants and who had arisen with Gonzalo Pizarro and followed him. Henceforth there has been cause in this kingdom for the great number of undeserving pretenders, for, when

they saw him give the best there was to men to whom it would have been sufficient to give pardon for their crimes, they found occasion to seek and claim what was enough for them, and it surpassed all sauciness that they should be in this kingdom and not be chased from it. I shall relate now some things about Carbajal, Gonzalo Pizarro's master of the camp. To this Carbajal, master of the camp, they gave Indians in this land [although he was] without merit. He was very talkative, he spoke very discreetly and gave pleasure to those who heard him. He was a sagacious man, cruel and well-versed in war. So it befell that while this Carbajal was on the road in order to go to Spain with some moneys which he had gained, he set forth from Cuzco to the city of the Kings in order to embark, and when he arrived there he found it to be ordered by Blasco Nuñez Vela, who was coming as Viceroy, that no one should be allowed to leave the country until he should arrive. Then, this Carbajal understood the uprising that would take place in this kingdom with the arrival

of Blasco Nuñez Vela, and [he knew] that Gonzalo Pizarro was in rebellion, and he understood what was destined to take place in the land. He tried with much diligence to leave the land, and as he was not able to do so from the city of the Kings, he received news that there was a ship at Arequipa belonging to one Baltasar Rodriguez, and he determined to go in search of it in order to see if he could not leave this land. When he came to the city of Arequipa he went to dwell in the house of Pedro Pizarro, whom he asked to speak to the master [of the vessel], Baltasar Rodriguez, and, on his behalf, to offer him three thousand pesos to take him to Panama without touching at any land. Carbajal did this after having spoken to the master of the ship already mentioned and after having offered him two thousand five hundred pesos. [Then] he asked Pedro Pizarro to speak to him and offer three thousand. So Pedro Pizarro spoke to him [Rodriguez] and offered him three thousand pesos. Baltasar Rodriguez did not agree to it, nor did he wish to, for he had secretly

given his word to Gonzalo Pizarro. Pedro Pizarro told Carbajal that there was no way for him to leave the land and that the master [of the ship] had told him that, even though he were to give ten thousand pesos, still he would not take him, and it is true that the master gave this reply, for he was angered with Pedro Pizarro and said to him: You who ought to aid on what concerns Gonzalo Pizarro are going against him. Then, while they were eating, and Carbajal having finished, as well as the licentiate Leon and Pedro Pizarro, Carbajal turned to ask of Pedro Pizarro: Sir, tell me, what did the master say to you? Pedro Pizarro replied to him: Sir, I have already told you that he does not wish to do it. Carbajal said: Why did he not wish to, sir? And, saying these words, he took a cup of wine which stood before him and he drank it up, and, sighing as he finished it, he said: Sir, how was it that the master did not wish to take me? For I swear [that if you make him take me] I shall make of Gonzalo a good Gonzalo, and such that those

who are born shall tremble and those yet to be born shall hold him in awe. Señor Pedro Pizarro, funds, funds, for I wish to go to Cuzco because the Viceroy is asking for me. Gonzalo Pizarro sent to look for me. He wished me to go to where he is. And it was so, for Gonzalo Pizarro had despatched from Cuzco Pedro Alonso de Hinojosa, who was later a general of de la Gasca's, with fifty cavalrymen. [And he ordered him] to come to Arequipa to seize Carbajal, for he had news that he was there, and to take away all the arms and horses which might be found in Arequipa in case the citizens did not wish to go with him. Carbajal set forth, and, on coming out of his dwelling, he said to Pedro Pizarro, his host: Wait, sir, for I tell you that they will come for you and for all the citizens. This Carbajal was so wise that they say that he had a familiar [spirit].

Having set out from Arequipa, Carbajal had not gone four leagues when he fell in with Hinojosa and the rest who were coming in search of him. This hospitality which Pedro

Pizarro showed to Carbajal through the [will of] God left him [Pizarro] alive, for Carbajal twice had it in his power to kill him, and on the second occasion he said to him: Sir, two [lives] we have not, for such is life, and if again I have you in my hands only God can grant you life. This Pedro Pizarro named in this writing, in order to serve His Majesty, did not avail himself of the many offers which, at the beginning, Gonzalo Pizarro made him, when he began to revolt, for he [Gonzalo Pizarro] offered to make him his captain and to make him preëminent in his camp, all of which he [Pedro Pizarro] put aside and refused in order to serve his King and Lord, and so Gonzalo Pizarro held him in order to kill him in the city of the Kings, and at the request of Carbajal, his master of the camp, he did not kill him. He [Gonzalo Pizarro] exiled him [Pedro Pizarro] to Charcas, [and] took away his Indians. He [Pedro] lost more than thirty thousand pesos and finally risked his honour and his life many times in the service of his King and Lord, denying his name and his blood.

This Carbajal killed many men, among them a priest, a friar and a married woman, wife of captain Gerónimo de Villegas, here named. He killed this woman because she spoke ill of his camp. He hung the friar, after winning the battle of Guarina, from a stone which overhung a sepulchre of the natives, for in the Collao the natives use very high broad square burial places. There are some two pikes high. Having hung the friar from one of these, he called Gonzalo Pizarro, and they say that he said: Come, your Lordship, with me [and let me] show you a friar whom I have here who is guarding a sepulchre. When Gonzalo Pizarro went with him and saw the friar hanging they say that he said: The devil take you, Carbajal! How is it that you have done this? They say that Carbajal said to him: This friar was a very good postman who carried letters from the chaplain to Centeno Verde, and it is well that he now rest a little. They say that he killed the priest for this same offense. He died like a heathen, so they say, for I did not wish to see the thing, and so said

I did not wish to see it. But the last time he spoke to me [was when they were] taking him to be killed, and the priest who was going with him bade him commend himself to God and say the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, and they say that he said Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and then said no other word.

I shall now treat of the native women of this kingdom. They were very submissive to their husbands, so much so that the mountain women were loaded and carried burdens like the men, carrying tributes to the places where the Lords ordered it to be sent. If it happened that, while travelling along with a burden, they gave birth to a child, they went aside a little from the road in order to lie in, and afterwards they went to where there was water, and they washed the babe themselves, and then they took it and threw it up on top of the pack they were carrying and went on travelling. I saw this several times. Married Indian women who went to war with their husbands, themselves bore the food for them, the cooking vessels and even, in some

cases, chicha, which was a certain drink like wine which they make from maize. From this maize they made bread, chicha, vinegar and honey, and it serves as oats for the horses. These Indian women arrived at a place as soon as their husbands, and knew how to prepare their food at once. The food of the poor Indians was this maize already mentioned, and herbs, potatoes and other vegetables which they gathered, together with some small fishes from the mountain rivers. Meat was raised, but few ate it save they were the Lords to whom they were ordered to give it, and the daughters of the Sovereigns of this land and their kinsmen, who were many, for almost all the orejones had kinship with the Sovereign. These daughters of these Sovereigns of this land, whom they called Coyas, which means beloved Ladies, were much courted. They were carried on the shoulders [of men], some in litters, others in hammocks. Hammocks are mantles fastened upon very thick sticks an arm or more in thickness, and very skillfully arranged, and, there stretched out, the Ladies

travelled, with coverings over them. These [women] were very [well] served and much feared, as well as delicate. They were well provided with all that they wished and needed. Common and lowly women kept chastity in favour of their husbands after marriage, but before that, as I have said, they did not hold it to be a dishonour [to be bad], for their parents took no account of whether they were bad or good, as I have said. Among the Ladies there were some tall ones, not among the daughters of the Kings, but among [those of] the orejones, their kinsmen. These Lords had a house where they killed the cattle of the land every day, and from there it was distributed to the chief Ladies and orejones. This cattle of the country multiplied very little, albeit there were many of them in this land, for the reason that all were [the property] of the Sovereign, and no one killed them if he did not wish it. This cattle served as beasts of burden and as flesh when there was need of it. These Ladies whom I mention were very clean and dainty, and they wore their black hair

long upon their shoulders, for they tried to have it very long. They considered themselves beautiful, and almost all the daughters of these Lords and orejones were so. The Indian women of the Guancas and Chachapoyas and Cañares were the common women, most of them being beautiful. The rest of the womanhood of this kingdom were thick, neither beautiful nor ugly, but of medium good-looks. The people of this kingdom of Peru were white, swarthy in colour, and among them the Lords and Ladies were whiter than Spaniards. I saw in this land an Indian woman and a child who would not stand out among white blonds. These people [of the upper class] say that they were the children of the idols.¹³⁹

Hear what I heard an orejon say, a Lord of this land. [He said] that five years, a little more or less, before we Spaniards entered this land, an idol at Purima which these Indians had twelve leagues from Cuzco and to whom they spoke, had ordered that all the Lords gather together, for he wished to speak to them. And, when they were assembled, he

said: You must know that bearded men are coming who are destined to overcome you. I have wished to tell you this so that you may eat, drink and spend all that you have so they may not find aught, nor you have anything to give them. As I say, an old orejon who had heard it told me this.

Within somewhat more than two years, Don Sebastián de Castilla arose in rebellion in the town of la Plata, province of Charcas. He killed general Pedro de Hinojosa and his lieutenant Castro. In this uprising N. de Guzman and two gentlemen named Telloz took part. This uprising lasted ten days [only] because their very friends killed Don Sebastián and the other guilty men, of whom [the "very friends"] was one Godinez, who had been made master of the camp. This Godinez, with other friends, slew, as I say, Don Sebastián. The oidores of the city of the Kings sent marshal Alonso de Alvarado and the fiscal Joan Fernandez to gather information and to punish the guilty. While they were doing so they found guilt to rest upon Francisco

Hernandez Giron. Francisco Hernandez knew of it [the rebellion], and he agreed to revolt, as he did, although previously he had wished to revolt in Cuzco. Juan de Saavedra, who at the time was corregidor, took him prisoner, together with those citizens who aided him, and sent him to the city of the Kings. The oidores overlooked the matter and sent him to his house in Cuzco, and finally he rose in rebellion at the time when the corregidor was Gil Ramirez Dávalo. One night while he was at the wedding of one Loaisa, a citizen of Cuzco, Gil Ramirez was advised by an alguacil of his that arquebusiers were moving about and assembling at the house of Francisco Hernandez, and he ordered the alguacil who had told him of it to go and see what the matter was. Coming in by a door of the house where the wedding was, and where all the citizens and the corregidor were supping together, Francisco Hernandez entered with certain arquebusiers, and when he came to where they were supping he attacked them, killing Palomino and another man. Gil

Ramirez hid in a bedchamber, and there he gave himself up, Francisco Hernandez having given his word, which he kept, not to kill him, and he sent him to the city of the Kings. Many soldiers joined with Francisco Hernandez, more than six hundred of them, and if marshal Alonso de Alvarado had not been in Charcas punishing Don Sebastián, more than one thousand five hundred would have joined him. Francisco Hernandez sent troops to Arequipa and Guamanga. It happened that the corregidor in Arequipa was one licentiate Carbajal, who had done what it was his duty to do. On learning of this rebellion, it appeared to the oidores that this licentiate was not sufficient for the needs of war, and they took away [his office] and sent authority to Gerónimo de Villegas. He did what was customary and what had been done under the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela. One morning he ordered all the soldiers and warriors who were in the town to assemble at his house, and then he sent to summon the citizens, together with some arquebusiers, and he made an agree-

ment with those whom he had in his house, telling them that Tomás Vazquez was coming with two hundred men, as he did, and that it would be well, since they could not resist him, to give Francisco Hernandez the position of procurator so that those who were coming would have no motive to rob and sack the town, and so that they would return, knowing that this position had been given to him. Oppressed with the fear of losing their lives, the citizens did what he told them and advised them to do. This was one day at noon, and when night fell Pedro Pizarro and Diego de Peralta, Joan de Hinojosa, Miguel Cornejo, with some friends of theirs, set forth in flight and went to the port of Arequipa, and they took a ship which was there and sent it to the oidores, and they [Pedro Pizarro and his followers] went by land to serve His Majesty, leaving their wives and children in the hands of the tyrants who arrived within four days at Arequipa. These men [Pizarro, etc.] having arrived at the city of the Kings, [they found that] the oidores were in great need of money

for raising troops, and Pedro Pizarro, he named many times here, lent to His Majesty, and to the oidores in his name, sixteen thousand pesos for the raising of troops, because they were much needed. When Tomás Vazquez arrived at Arequipa, he stole all he could and all he found, and he went down to the coast and went up through a valley which is called Hacari, which is eighty leagues from Arequipa in the direction of the city of the Kings, and by that route he went up into the mountains to join forces with Francisco Hernandez at Guamanga, for they had agreed to go against the city of the Kings, as they did. When all these [troops] were assembled, Francisco Hernandez went to Xauxa, and from Xauxa he went down to Pachacama. When this was learned by the oidores, they took their camp to a place a league outside the city, to a chacara of the Dominican monks; chacara means some lands and a hamlet which the friars had. From here they led us forward near a large irrigation ditch. When the oidores learned of the arrival of Francisco Hernandez

at Pachacama, four leagues from the city of the Kings, they made ready fifty cavalrymen, in order that we might go with the master of the camp, Pablo de Meneses, who held that office at the time, to ascertain where the enemy was. We had an encounter with them near the valley of Pachacama. They captured one of our soldiers. Diego de Silva passed over to our side, who had come with Francisco Hernandez, and that night there came to the camp of His Majesty more than fifty men of those whom Francisco Hernandez brought, and for this reason Francisco Hernandez did not dare to give battle, and he retired slowly down the coast, many troops leaving him and coming over to the camp of His Majesty every day. Seeing this, the oidores made ready sixty men, and they ordered us to go with Pablo de Meneses in pursuit of Francisco Hernandez in order that we might collect and protect those who fled from him. Thus following him, we came so close to him that one party was travelling only a day's march from the other, and in a valley called Ica,

with thick woods, which is forty leagues from the city of the Kings, we caught up with them. That day they had entered the valley, and Pablo de Meneses wished to attack them there that night, because he now had more than eight hundred men, including those who had fled from Francisco Hernandez, and if Pablo de Meneses had done what he was determined to do, he would have taken prisoner Francisco Hernandez and routed [his men], as we learned afterwards. For, as they entered this valley lacking for food and very weary through not having stopped until then, the troops had been scattered through the valley in search of supplies, for they had no news of our coming, and they were quite unprepared, although they had stationed guards and sentinels. But we took these without disclosing ourselves, for it is a hilly valley, [and it is needful to have] guides who know it. But when we arrived at the river of this valley, which is at the beginning of the entrance to it, Pablo de Meneses became over-cautious and did not dare to attack the enemy. While in this situation, he

wished to send in search of some maize for the horses, which were very weary. A soldier, [who was one of] those who had come over from Francisco Hernandez's side, offered to go, saying that he knew a village nearby whence maize could be brought without our being seen by the enemy. Pablo de Meneses, believing him, sent him with three others of our men to bring some maize. When they had gone, this man who had come to us from Francisco Hernandez and who was going to show where the food was, fled from our three men who were with him and went to give warning to Francisco Hernandez and to tell him of our arrival. When our men returned, they gave Pablo de Meneses an account of the flight of that man, and then we withdrew and turned back to some hollows and to a village called Villacuri, five or six leagues short of the valley already mentioned where Francisco Hernandez was. Pablo de Meneses left three horsemen behind him [with orders to] stay here until, with day, they went to a hill near the river to watch out to see if Francisco Hernandez was coming

forth or what he was doing. Those who remained here were Lope Martin, Casas and Cifontes. He ordered them to remain until after mid-day and then to withdraw and come to Villacuri, where we were to wait for them. These men stayed in this place until mid-day, and they saw no one, and they agreed to enter the valley in order to give their horses food and to see if Francisco Hernandez had gone further on. These three having entered one part of the valley, it being now afternoon, Francisco Hernandez, with all his men, came out of the valley in search of us, believing that we were nearby in some sandy wastes which lie near the valley. Then it befell that, after feeding their horses, Lope Martin and his two companions came out to the place where they had been ordered to wait, and they encountered the troops of Francisco Hernandez, who were all going in search of us, and when they saw them they put spurs to their horses in order to pass beyond them [Hernandez's men], for they had good horses; they dashed off, with the men of Francisco

Hernandez after them. [Then] the horse of Lope Martin fell in a mound of sand, and there they took him prisoner. Cifontes and Caxas had a chance to escape, and as night had now closed down, and as all were sandy wastes, they did not make out the road so as to go and warn us before they were lost. Lope Martin having been captured, Francisco Hernandez asked him about us, where we were and how many of us there were and all the rest which he wished to know. And when he had learned it, he cut off his [Martin's] head and, with all his troops, came in search of us. And, being now close upon us, a little less than a league away, it appeared to them that they had lost the road, and they waited for dawn, and when day came they found themselves in the middle of the road, and if this had not befallen they would have caught us unawares and sleeping, and they would have killed us all, for, as Pablo de Meneses had left behind the three men already mentioned, he was careless and did not have sentinels. Being in these hollows on this day, one of our soldiers went

out to a high place to look for maize, and he saw on a plain which lies beyond these hollows Francisco Hernandez with all his troops and banners, and although we speedily saddled our horses and mounted, they were on us, and we went retreating, fighting all together for more than three leagues, and, finally, Francisco Hernandez, with all his troops, overcame us and routed us, killing some of our men and taking others prisoners. By great good luck I escaped, because, when my horse was killed by an arquebuse-shot, a negro of mine came up whom I had sent ahead on a stallion, and, mounting him, I crossed a hill of sand and so escaped.

Having won this victory, Francisco Hernandez withdrew and went to Nasca, a valley which is sixty leagues from Lima. Here he re-formed his forces, remaining in this place more than a month. The camp of His Majesty came to Chinchá, thirty leagues from Lima, and here it stayed until Francisco Hernandez went up into the mountains, where he learned of the coming of Alonso de Alvarado

with eight hundred men in search of him. Francisco Hernandez tried to avoid him, taking refuge in some deserts. The marshal followed him, and Francisco Hernandez passed him by on one side and journeyed toward Cuzco. And the marshal went after him and came up with him at a river called Chuquinga, and, having caught up with him there, he attacked him too hastily, without letting his men rest, and he attacked him at a fort which is in the middle of a river, and, having been lost and beaten as he [Alvarado] was, his troops deserted him, and so the victory was won [by Francisco Hernandez Giron]. Francisco Hernandez, [even though] vanquished [himself], vanquished the marshal and his men. And having won this victory, he went to Cuzco, where he re-formed his army.

When the oidores learned of the defeat of the marshal and his troops, they made haste and went against him, making Pablo de Meneses general, and Don Pedro Portocarrero master of the camp. Assembling as many troops as they could, they went to Cuzco,

and, when they arrived, Francisco Hernandez had already set forth toward the Collao, and, when they followed him, he stopped at a place called Pucara, and there he waited for the camp of His Majesty, and, when he was arrived there, he established himself in a fort which there is in this Pucara. Then, the camp of His Majesty having arrived, his men lodged and established themselves near a river facing the camp of Francisco Hernandez, a little more than an arquebuse-shot away. Here they had their skirmishes every day, and Francisco Hernandez got the best of them. Matters being so, Francisco Hernandez determined to attack, on a certain night, the camp of His Majesty. The oidores had news of it, and, on the night when Francisco Hernandez was to go against them, they moved the location of the camp, leaving in the first site a drummer with some Spaniards and negroes, so that Francisco Hernandez, believing that the camp was [still] there, should make his attack in vain. And so it was that, when he heard the drum, and believing that

they were still there as before, he delivered his blow at the air, for the negroes and drummer fled. And so Francisco Hernandez and his men learned the trick, and, returning to the place where the soldiers and army of His Majesty now were, his arquebusiers began to fire, and the artillery of His Majesty's camp began to play upon those of Francisco Hernandez, and so this encounter developed, and the men of Francisco Hernandez withdrew, having wounded and killed some of those of the camp of the oidores. And in this engagement some of the men of Francisco Hernandez passed over to the camp of the oidores, and so Francisco Hernandez lost courage and all his men. And the next day it befell that Tomás Vazquez and Piedrahita, captains of Francisco Hernandez, secretly received pardon from the oidores, and for this reason Francisco Hernandez fled one night with about sixty of the guiltiest men, his friends, and so they were all dispersed, some going in one direction, and others in another. The oidores sent captains to the places where they had news that they

were fleeing, and so they captured them and killed them.

They captured Francisco Hernandez at Xauxa. This Francisco Hernandez killed many persons. In the time that his tyranny lasted, many robberies were committed by him.¹⁴⁰

After this, in the time of the president Castro, there were some secret mutinies. May it please our Lord that they have ended forever. For if, for our sins, something is sent upon us, it would be so bad that never would the like of it have been seen or heard of, if one may judge by the bountiful experience which this land has had in the past of uprisings, for each one excelled in evilness the others which had happened in this land, and for this reason it is understood what great evil would result if some insurrection should happen [now]. This is what happened in this kingdom after I entered it, which was when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro came from Spain, and, in my judgment, it was perhaps forty-two years ago that we came to conquer

and discover these kingdoms beyond Tumbez, which he had previously found, and from here he went to ask His Majesty for the government, and then, as I have said, I came hither with him. This which I have written I saw, except the discovery as far as Tumbez which the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had done before, as I have declared at the beginning, and I learned and saw some things touching the natives of this kingdom which I have declared here. All that is written here happened so, and it is the truth, without my having added or made up anything. I have dared to write this history because those who know me know that I am a friend of the truth, and that I use it always, and so all that is found here is written with entire truth. This writing was finished on the seventh of January of the year one thousand, five hundred and seventy-one. I do not put down here the times and years that all this happened and befell, because so much time has gone by.

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NOTES

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NOTES FOR THE INTRODUCTION TO PEDRO PIZARRO'S RELATION

¹ Dr. Aleš Hrdlička has probably done more than any other man in connexion with definitely establishing the zoölogical relations existing formerly between Asiatic man and man in America. Consult:

HRDLIČKA, Aleš:

- 1912. Early Man in South America. Bulletin 52, BAE, Washington.
- 1912b. Restes dans l'Asie Orientale de la race qui a peuplé l'Amérique. CIAAP, xiv, pages 409-414.
- 1917. Transpacific Migrations. Man, xvii, pages 29-30.
- 1917b. The Genesis of the American Indian. ICA, xix, pages 559-568.

Consult likewise, especially with regard to early folk-movements on the American continent:

SPINDEN, Herbert J.:

- 1913. A Study of Maya Art. PMM, vi. Cambridge, Mass.
- 1917. The Origin and Distribution of Agriculture in America. ICA, xix, pages 269-277.
- 1917b. Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America. New York. Especially pages 43-64.

Note.—For abbreviations, see page 531.

JOYCE, Thomas A.:

- 1912. South American Archaeology. New York. Pages 189-192.
- 1914. Mexican Archaeology. New York. Pages 5-30 and 199-217.
- 1916. Central American and West Indian Archaeology. New York.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

- 1918. Las Relaciones entre Centro-America y Sud-America en la Epoca Prehistorica. BSGl, xxxiii, pages 151-170.

² In addition to the works just named consult:

MORLEY, Sylvanus Griswold:

- 1915. An Introduction to the Study of Maya Hieroglyphs. Bulletin 57, BAE, Washington.
- 1920. The Inscriptions at Copan. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publ. No. 219. Washington.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

- 1918. Pre-Columbian Peruvian Chronology and Cultures. Man, xviii, pages 168-169.

³ HADDON, A. C.:

- 1912. Wanderings of Peoples. London.

NORDENSKIÖLD, Baron Erland:

- 1917. The Guarani Invasion of the Inca Empire. GR, iv, pages 103-121.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1917. A Survey of Ancient Peruvian Art. TCAAS, XXI, pages 315-442. Especially pages 363-368.

⁴ The standard works for reference with regard to culture-sequence are, in addition to those of Joyce already referred to, the following:

BEUCHAT, Henri:

1912. Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine. Paris.

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1910. The Incas of Peru. London.

Information on the same subject may also be found in these works:

JIJON Y CAAMAÑO, Jacinto:

1914. Aborígenes de Imbabura. Quito.

⁵ The period of cultural depression in the highlands may conveniently be called the Tampu Tocco or Paccari Tampu Period, for legend states that the ancestors of the Incas dwelt in a place of those names during the time that it lasted. Consult:

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1917b. Culture Sequence in the Andean Area. ICA, XIX, pages 236-252.

⁶ The arbitrary creation of separate culture-periods by Prof. Max Uhle has done much to encumber the true significance of the coast civilizations. As a matter of fact, the coast cultures and their various phases show a remarkable continuity and consistence.

⁷ The dates for the reigns of the Incas used here will be found to differ from those which I used in earlier writings. This is due very largely to the influence of Drs. Tello, Wiese and Riva-Agüero, all of Lima. The present dates are arrived at by means of taking an average of the dates appearing in the works presently to be named. As all of the systems used in attaining this average are eminently sane and full of elements of accuracy, we may assume that the average of them will be as nearly correct as may be under the circumstances which exist in connexion with a civilization which had no documentary history.

- I. Garcilasso de la Vega's dates as worked out by Markham and Uhle. See:

MARKHAM, (Sir) Clements R.:

1856. Cuzco . . . and Lima. London. Page 160.

UHLE, Max:

1903. Pachacamac. Philadelphia. Page 54.

- II. FISKE, John:

1892. The Discovery of America. Boston. 2 volumes.
II, page 131.

- III. GONZALEZ DE LA ROSA, Manuel:

1909. Ensayo de Cronologia Incana. RH, iv, pages
41-54.

- IV. The Chronology of Miguel Cavello Balboa as given
by Wiener. See:

WIENER, Charles:

1874. Essai sur . . . l'Empire des Incas. Paris.
Page 53.

V. CORDOBA Y URRUTIA, José Maria de:

1875. Las tres Epocas del Peru. Lima.

VI. WIESSE, Carlos:

1913. Las Civilizaciones Primitivas del Peru. Lima.
Pages 176-177.

⁸ The best description of Inca origins is this one:

UHLE, Max:

1912. Los Origenes de los Incas. ICA, xvi, pages
302-347.

⁹ MARKHAM, 1910, pages 50-55.

¹⁰ MEANS, 1917, pages 333-334.

¹¹ The linguistic evidence as to the affinities of these tribes is so chaotic still that it is of but little use. Much intensive research will be required before it is put in order.

¹² LIZARRAGA, Reginaldo:

1908. Descripcion y Poblacion de las Indias. Ed. by
Carlos A. Romero. Lima. Page 352.

¹³ For an excellent account of the Chancas, see:

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca:

1869-71. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Ed.
by (Sir) Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt
Soc., London. 2 volumes. I, pages 323 and
following.

¹⁴ Rocca II's reforms are described by Garcilasso (I, pages 333-337).

¹⁵ This battle of Xaquixaguana is described by Garcilasso (II, pages 53-58).

¹⁶ In 1914 these magnificent ruins belonged to Don Isaac Silva of Huarcocondo, valley of Anta.

¹⁷ The god Viracocha was undoubtedly pre-Inca.

¹⁸ The spear-thrower seems to have been characteristic of the coast and the sling of the highlands, but both became widely distributed under the Incas. See:

UHLE, Max:

1907. *La Estolicea en el Peru*. RH, II, pages 118-128.

¹⁹ The Incas found the coast-cultures so respectable and so firmly crystallized into their own forms that they had, in many respects, to modify their own customs on the coast, whereas the less advanced peoples of the interior had no such effect upon them.

²⁰ Sir Clements used these words in a letter written to the present editor in 1915.

²¹ The boundaries of the coast lordships were, originally, of a strictly geographical nature, being composed of rivers, mountains and similar natural barriers. But as culture advanced and as the political horizon of the people widened, these barriers were, to a large extent, overridden. Vestiges of them, however, may still be found, especially in the department of Piura, where

Chimu rule was relatively weak, perhaps more theoretical than actual. There, during a short day's ride, one passes through Indian communities which obviously are widely different in a number of respects, and in this we see a strong survival of the old pre-Chimu regionalism which was once general throughout the coast.

²² Pachacutec, though he merits much honour for his military achievements on the coast, nevertheless profited much from the tentative conquests further south made by his predecessors. Their experience taught him what were the best sorts of strategy and troop-movements, and they also made it clear that the weak-point of the coast states was their dependence on irrigation for their water-supply.

²³ Though the study of Ecuadorian pre-Columbian history is yet in its infancy, we already know enough to show that there was in that region a culture-sequence not unlike that of Peru. Indeed, a letter recently received by the editor from Sr. Jijon y Caamaño states that some of the Ecuadorian cultures are intimately allied with those of Peru. Consult, in addition to works already referred to:

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1907-10. *Antiquities of Manabi*. New York. 2 volumes.

GONZALEZ SUAREZ, Federico:

1890-1903. *Historia General del Ecuador*. Quito. 7 volumes.

1892. Atlas Arqueologico. Quito. 2 volumes.
1904. Prehistoria Ecuatoriana. Quito.
1908. Los Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi.
Quito.

DORSEY, George A.:

1901. Archaeological Investigations on the Island of
La Plata, Ecuador. FCMP, No. 56. Chicago.

JIJON Y CAAMAÑO, Jacinto; and LARREA, Carlos M.:

1918. Un Cementerio Incasico en Quito y Notas
Acerca de los Incas en el Ecuador. Quito.

²⁴ ERCILLA Y ZUÑIGA, Alonso de:

- 1569-89. La Araucana. Madrid. 3 volumes.

²⁵ MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

- 1918b. A Note on the Guarani Invasions of the Inca
Empire. GR, iv, pages 482-484.

²⁶ Markham (1910, page 241) opposes the belief that
Atahualpa's mother was a princess of Quito. Wiese
(1913, page 196) ably discusses the whole matter.

²⁷ A convenient summary of the chief Inca marriages
was given by Sir Clements R. Markham in his edition
of Sarmiento. Consult:

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, Pedro:

1907. History of the Incas. Ed. by Sir Clements
Markham. Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 258.

²⁸ Accounts of the death of Huayna Capac are given by Garcilasso (II, pages 465-469) and by Sarmiento (pages 166-169). The latter says that the illness was small-pox.

²⁹ The standard authorities for Inca social organization are:

BELAUNDE, Victor Andres:

1908. *El Peru y los Modernos Sociologos*. Lima.

CUNOW, Heinrich:

1898. *Die Soziale Verfassung des Inkareichse*. Brunswick.

SAAVEDRA, Juan Bautista:

1909. *El Ayllu*. La Paz.

RIVA-AGÜERO, José de la:

1910. *La Historia en el Peru*. Lima. Pages 61-113.

³⁰ MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1918c. *Racial Factors in Democracy*. Boston. Pages 120-122.

³¹ Markham (1919, pages 96-114) gives a thorough review of the religious aspects of pre-Columbian Peru.

³² The effects of isolation on the ancient dwellers of the Andes and on their culture will be found analyzed in my 1918c, pages 122-125.

³³ This account of Spanish achievements in Middle America is based on the following works:

CORTES, Fernando:

1908. Letters . . . to Charles V. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes.

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1918. The Discovery of Yucatan in 1517 by Hernandez de Cordoba. GR, VI, pages 436-448.

MARTYR D'ANGHERA, Pedro (or Pietro):

1912. De Orbe Novo. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes.

GOMARA, Francisco Lopez de:

1554. Historia de Mexico. Antwerp.

DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, Bernal:

- 1908-16. A True History of the Conquest of New Spain. Ed. by Alfred Percival Maudslay. Hakluyt Soc., London. 5 volumes.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1917. History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas. PMP, VII. Cambridge, Mass.

²⁴ The section on Geographical Aspects has been built upon the following authorities:

BOWMAN, Isaiah:

1916. The Andes of Southern Peru. New York.

PAZ-SOLDAN, Mariano Felipe:

1865. Atlas Geografico del Peru. Paris.

1877. Diccionario Geografico Estadistico del Peru. Lima.

RAIMONDI, Antonio:

- 1874-1913. El Peru. Lima. 6 volumes.

NOTES TO PEDRO PIZARRO

³⁵ Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro and Fernando de Luque were three prominent citizens of Darien in 1525. The two first mentioned were adventurers who, though they owned lands and Indians, were without substantial resources. Luque was vicar and curate and chancellor of the cathedral. From its foundation in 1513 by a Brief from Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) to the end of 1524 the Cathedral had been at Santa Maria la Antigua del Darien. In the latter year, however, it was moved to Panama, Don Vicente de Peraza being Bishop. At this time Pascual de Andagoya had only lately made his voyage southwardly to Biru, somewhere on the present Colombian littoral. Ill health induced him to permit Pizarro and his associates to take up the task which he had begun. Pizarro and Almagro furnished the brawn and a good deal of the brain; Luque provided the wherewithal to finance the enterprise, as well as exerting his influence to induce Governor Pedro Arias de Avila to favour its being put into execution. Pizarro made his first trip in 1525; later he made a second trip, reaching the Islands of Gallo and Gorgona on the coast, about two and one-half degrees north of the Equator. On account of observations made on this trip, Pizarro, Almagro and Luque made their famous contract to work together, signing it at Panama on the 10 March, 1526. Montesinos preserves the document in full. References:

MONTESINOS, Fernando:

1906. *Los Anales del Peru*. Ed. by Victor M. Maurtua. Madrid. 2 volumes. Ano 1526.

LEWIS, Samuel:

1918. *The Cathedral of Old Panama*. HAHR, 1, pages 447-453.

ANDERSON, C. L. G.:

1911. *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro*. Washington.

PRESCOTT, William Hickling:

1847. *History of the Conquest of Peru*. 2 volumes. London.

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1892. *History of Peru*. Chicago. Pages 67-70.

ANDAGOYA, Pascual de:

1865. *Narrative*. . . Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.

³⁶ The name Peru, Piru or Biru has been applied arbitrarily to the ancient realm of Ttahu-ntin-suyu, The Land of the Four Provinces. In time it was often applied to the whole of South America by cartographers and others. There are a number of theories as to the origin of the name, but the most likely one is that it belonged primarily to a small river and cacique-ship on the Colombian coast. See:

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca:

1869-71. *The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. 2 volumes. 1, pages 27-36.

³⁷ This message sent back by the discontented men on Gallo is undoubtedly historic. Cieza de Leon gives the words thus:

“Pues Señor Gobernador
Mirelo bien por entero
Que allá va el Recogedor
Y acá queda el Carnicero.”

Substantially the same words appear in Montesinos (1906, Ano 1527).

³⁸ The officer sent out by the Governor to bring back the discontented men from the Island of Gallo was named Tafur. Montesinos calls him Alonzo and Cieza calls him Juan.

In spite of its obvious authenticity, the incident of the Thirteen is treated by Helps as fabulous. The correct list of the faithful adherents to Pizarro may be found in a note on pages 419-421 of Markham's translation of Cieza's *Travels*. (See Bibliography.) See also:

HELPS, Sir Arthur:

1869. *The Life of Pizarro*. London.

TRUEBA Y COSIO, Joaquin Telésforo:

1830. *History of the Conquest of Peru*. Edinburgh.

³⁹ The man whom Pedro Pizarro here calls Bartolomé Perez was in reality named Bartolomé Ruiz. He was an excellent pilot. His ship was the first European one to cross the Line off the west coast of South America. (Markham, 1892, page 69.) He died about the middle of February, 1533. Consult:

ROMERO, Carlos A.:

1906. Un Inedito Sobre Bartolomé Ruiz. RH, I, pages 65-69.

⁴⁰ For other accounts of this incident, see:

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, Pedro:

1895. Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento. . . Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.

⁴¹ Francisco Pizarro was in Spain from the Summer of 1528 to January 19, 1530.

⁴² The Capitulación with Queen Juana was signed by Francisco Pizarro on 24 or 26 July, 1529. The unequal honours given at this time to Pizarro and to Almagro were the cause of serious friction between the two.

⁴³ The opportune arrival of Ponce de León and Soto caused Almagro, always an opportunist and waverer, to come out of his fit of the sulks and join in the expedition. Hernando de Soto was the man who later gained fame exploring the Mississippi.

⁴⁴ Pizarro, now accompanied by his brothers Hernando, Gonzalo and Juan, by his uterine brother Francisco Martin de Alcántara and by his cousin Pedro Pizarro our author, left for Peru early in November, 1530. With them also were Padre Vicente de Valverde and Padre Juan de Sosa. They had two ships, firearms and horses. Almagro stayed at Panama.

⁴⁵ Coaque or Coaqui is North of the bay called Caraque. It is on the Ecuadorian coast, about three degrees North of the equator. It is a hot and pestilential region. See:

WOLF, Teodoro:

1892. *Geografia y Geologia del Ecuador*. Leipzig.
Page 157.

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1910. *Antiquities of Manabi*. Vol. II. New York.
Pages 24-30.

⁴⁶ The ceyva or ceyba tree is a widespreading and thickly umbrageous tree whose fruit is full of cottony fibre. See:

COBO, Bernabé:

1890-93. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Ed. by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Soc. de Bibliófilos Andaluces. Seville. 4 volumes. II, page 124.

⁴⁷ America and Europe, when their peoples came into contact, seem to have exchanged, or rather interchanged, a number of serious diseases. Without going into medical matters too deeply, it is well to state that syphilis and other venereal ailments were ancient in America, having originated from certain obscene practices of the natives. Berrugas or Verrugas was also an ancient disease in Peru. Realistic pottery representations of these ailments, as well as of other matters connected with them, are numerous. See:

ASHMEAD, Albert S.:

1903. Testimony of the Huacos (Mummy-Grave) Potteries of Old Peru. Proceedings of the APSP, XLII, pages 378-395.

ODRIOZOLA, Ernesto:

1908. Estado Actual de Nuestros Conocimientos Acerca de la Enfermedad de Carrion o Verruga Peruana. Lima.

PALMA, Ricardo (hijo):

1908. La Uta en el Peru. Lima.

PATRON, Pablo:

1889. La Verruga de los Conquistadores. Lima.

TELLO, Julio C.:

1909. La Antigüedad de la Siphilis en el Peru. Lima.

VELEZ LOPEZ, Lizardo R.:

1912. Huacos Antropomorfos Mutilados del Peru. ICA, XVIII, pages 276-279. London.

WAGNER, Raoul D.:

1909. Un Huaco Figurant un Cas Pathologique.
JSAP, VI (n. s.), pages 273-274. Paris.

NOTE.—The collections in private hands in Peru supply many further data in this connexion.

⁴⁸ Sebastián de Benalcazar reached Pizarro about July or August, 1532.

⁴⁹ For information about the Island of la Puna and Tumbala its Lord, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects. Consult likewise:

JOYCE, Thomas A.:

1912. South American Archaeology. New York.
Page 57.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca:

1869-71. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Ed.
by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. 2 volumes.
II, pages 428-431.

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1864. Travels. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.
Pages 198-200.

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1910. The Incas of Peru. New York. Pages 183-184.

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1910. The Antiquities of Manabi. Vol. II.

⁵⁰ The "ewes", of course, were llamas.

⁵¹ Morillo and Bocanegra, whose names do not appear to have been recorded by other early writers on Peru, must have been among the first, if not actually the first, Castilian settlers in that country. Since they had the Indian women mentioned by Pedro Pizarro as their "servants" it is quite possible that they begot the first mestizo children in Peru.

⁵² For information about Puerto or Porto Viejo and its people, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

⁵³ There can be but little doubt but that Pedro de Alvarado was in truth the evil genius of the Conquest of Peru. His career before reaching that country amply proved his evil and cruel disposition, particularly such events as his massacre of the Aztec nobles in Mexico. Nevertheless, he was a brave soldier, ever undaunted in the face of danger, and the hundreds of men whom he brought with him to Peru were invaluable, even though not above committing "atrocities". Consult:

DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, Bernal:

1908-16. *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. Ed. by Alfred Percival Maudslay, Hakluyt Soc., London. 5 volumes. *Passim*, and especially Vol. v, pages 302-303.

MARTYR D'ANGHERA, Peter:

1912. *De Orbe Novo*. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes. Vol. II, pages 359-364.

CORTES, Hernando:

1908. *The Letters of Cortes to Charles V*. Ed. by Francis Augustus Macnutt. New York. 2 volumes. Vol. I, page 284, and *passim*.

⁵⁴ The best and earliest descriptions of Tumbez are those given by Pedro de Cieza de Leon and by Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman. It is to be noted that all vestiges of the buildings which they mention have vanished, and one wonders how accurately the latter of the two, at least, was informed. Consult:

ENRIQUEZ DE GUZMAN, Alonzo:

1862. *The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 95.

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1864. (*Travels*), pages 23-25 and 193-197.

⁵⁵ For information concerning the Cinto valley, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

⁵⁶ For data regarding these places, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

⁵⁷ As stated in the Introduction, the civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa was one of the fundamental

causes of Spanish success, and it was a product of the deep-rooted weakness of the Inca empire at that period. In this struggle three Indian generals distinguished themselves. These were Chalcuchima, Quizquiz and Rumi Nahui. They had all been trained under the Inca Huayna Capac. All were faithful adherents to Atahualpa and, at the time of the Conquest, stalwart opponents of the Spaniards. See Notes Nos. 6 and 41 in the second volume of the Cortes Society's series.

⁵⁸ For information about the Chira valley, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

⁵⁹ La Guaca or la Huaca is in the Chira valley, on the South side of the river, opposite Amotape. It was, like Chira itself (now known as Sojo, and the property of Don Miguel Checa), the seat of a chieftain who was feudatory to the Chimu, at least nominally, in immediately pre-Inca times.

⁶⁰ The thirteen caciques (properly curacas) thus massacred by the Spaniards were the feudal chiefs of such places as Chira, la Huaca, Tangarara (Pedro Pizarro's Tangarala), and Querocotillo, all in the Chira valley. The Piura here mentioned is, of course, the Piura valley, the next to the South of the Chira.

⁶¹ Tallana or Tallano is another name for Yunga, the generic name applied by the Spaniards to the coast dwellers. See:

CASAS, Bartolomé de las:

1892. De las Antiguas Gentes del Peru. Ed. by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Madrid. Page 111.

⁶² San Miguel de Tangarara was founded on 24 May, 1532, on a site upon the North bank of the Chira River, just opposite the great pyramid of Sojo (then called Chira). Ruins of old buildings may still be seen there, as well as many vestiges of irrigation canals, but it is doubtful if they were erected in the time of Pizarro. The site was found to be unsatisfactory, probably on account of soil-deterioration due to bad irrigation and a lack of proper drainage, a surplus of water causing a chemical destruction of the soil for agricultural purposes. (This is the opinion of Mr. G. E. Nicholson, a soil-expert resident at Catacaos, Piura, Peru.) Some-time between 1534 and 1554 the town was moved to a site known as Piura-la-vieja today. It is in the Piura valley not far from the town of Chulucanas. On the whole, it is a very bad site for a settlement on account of the fact that all the good water-springs are a considerable distance away. The soil is poor and rocky. The houses were built of rough stones and adobe, but now only the former can be seen, the adobe having long since vanished. Between 1571 and 1585 the people of Piura moved in a body to San Francisco de Buena Esperanza de Payta, where again they were beset with difficulties on account of the difficulty of obtaining wood and water. In 1587 Payta was raided and

sacked by Thomas Cavendish, and soon thereafter most of the inhabitants moved off and established themselves at Tacala in the Piura valley, and there the city of San Miguel de Piura is to this day. See:

EGUIGUREN, Victor:

1895. Fundacion y Traslaciones de S. Miguel de Piura. BSGI, iv, pages 260-268.

GARCIA ROSELL, Ricardo:

1903. El Departamento de Piura. BSGI, xiii, pages 193-242.

MEANS, Philip Ainsworth:

1918. A Footnote to the History of the Conquest of Peru. HAHR, i, pages 453-457.

MONTESINOS, Fernando:

1906. Los Anales del Peru. Ed. by Victor M. Maurtua. Madrid. 2 volumes. i, page 71.

⁶³ Pizarro left San Miguel 24 September, 1532, leaving Sebastián de Benalcazar in charge, with Navarro to aid him. See Chronology, pages 122-123 of this volume.

⁶⁴ This term is intended to cast opprobrium upon the men in question.

⁶⁵ Caxamalca (now Cajamarca) was a favourite residence of Atahualpa. To all intents and purposes it was the de facto capital of Peru at the time of which Pizarro is here speaking. It was clearly a city of con-

siderable importance and magnificence, set amid fertile and beautiful surroundings. In the centre of the town was a fine large plaza with sides about 600 feet in length and provided with fountains of water. There were some 2000 houses arranged in straight streets and gaily painted or stuccoed. See:

RAMUSIO, Giambattista:

1563-65. *Viaggi*. Venice. 3 volumes. III, page 373.

⁶⁶ The Lord of Chincha here referred to was the feudatory chieftain of the southern half of the littoral. Like a mediatized prince he was ruling, under Inca guidance, the region over which his ancestors had held undisputed sway. Beneath him, in turn, were minor chiefs, who had charge of individual valleys or regions, owing him allegiance.

⁶⁷ Atahualpa was seized on November 16, 1532. The parallel between the course of action taken by Pizarro and that followed by Cortes in Mexico is striking. In both cases the capture of an Indian monarch's person put the whole machinery of government into the control of the leader of the invaders.

⁶⁸ Atahualpa offered ransom about November 18 or 20, 1532. Around 20 December it began to arrive at Cajamarca. By May 3, 1533, it was all assembled. By June 17 it was distributed, the total value being about £3,500,000 of modern money, among the soldiery. On August 29 Atahualpa was put to death.

Consult:

SANCHO, Pedro:

1872. Report on the Distribution of the Ransom of Atahualpa. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London.

1917. An Account of the Conquest of Peru. Ed. by Philip Ainsworth Means, Cortes Soc., New York.

⁶⁹ Xauxa or Antamarca are usually given as the place where Huascar met his end, presumably about June, 1532.

⁷⁰ It is not possible definitely to identify these two men, but the Guamantito of our author may be that Titu Atauchi who was a full brother of Huascar, or he may be Huascar's son, Huauri Titu. Of Mayta Yupanqui it is possible to speak much more definitely. He was a general in the service of Huascar, a military opponent and rival of Atahualpa's three generals referred to above. See:

Markham, 1910, page 251.

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, Pedro:

1907. The History of the Incas. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 174.

⁷¹ It is to be noted that Pedro Pizarro begins his list of Incas with Viracocha who, as a matter of fact, was by no means the first one. See Introduction.

⁷² There seems to be but little doubt that Atahualpa really was a son of a princess of the Caran Scyri dynasty of Quito. The late Sir Clements R. Markham, however, was of the opposite opinion, for the reason that if Atahualpa "had been born at Quito he would have been only eight or ten when his father died". Huayna Capac died in 1525, and supposedly Atahualpa was born about 1516. It was the year 1513 and the succeeding years which saw the great northern campaign of Huayna Capac. I see no reason why Atahualpa could not have been born during this time. Certainly Markham's statement that Atahualpa was with his father, and a grown man at the time, during this campaign is open to doubt. Sarmiento makes Tocta Coca mother of Atahualpa. Consult:

Markham, 1910, pages 240-241; Sarmiento, 1907, pages 169-170.

⁷³ It is said that Atahualpa was at one time appointed *Ranti* or *Incap Ranti* (viceroy) of Quito. Gradually, however, encouraged by the allegiance to him which he found among the Quito generals and by the recollection of his maternal ancestry, he made his rule independent of that of Huascar, thereby giving rise to the civil war between them.

⁷⁴ The information given by Pedro Pizarro about the treatment of the dead is most useful. It is well to note that, contrary to the prevalent opinion, deliberate and scientific embalming was practised by the pre-Columbian Andeans. Consult:

Markham, 1910, pages 111-112. (Says embalming was used.)

Joyce, 1912, page 145. (Says embalming was not used.)

CASTAING, A.:

1887. Les Embauments et Lessepultures Chez les Anciens Peruvians. ASAF, v, pages 120-134.

REUTTER, M.:

1915. Analyses de Deux Masses Ayant Servi aux Incas a Embaumer Leurs Morts. vi, pages 288-293.

⁷⁵ Pachacamac had for centuries been a place of pilgrimage to people from immense distances. For that reason it has proved one of the richest archeological sites in America. It was visited in November, 1533, by Hernando Pizarro, Miguel de Astete and Francisco Xeres, who all described it as being an important religious centre at that time. Consult:

UHLE, Max:

1903. Pachacamac. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.

⁷⁶ The word *orejón* means Big-ear. That term not being euphonious, the Spanish one has been preserved in the text. It has the force of "Cuzco nobleman". The men of this class wore enormous ear-studs in the lobe of the ear as a sign of their rank.

⁷⁷ Xauxa was an important place at the time of the Conquest. Pedro Sancho (in his Chapter iv) gives an account of it. See also, Cieza de Leon, 1864 (Travels), pages 296-301.

⁷⁸ As stated elsewhere in this volume, the incestuous marriages here referred to were a late development in Inca social organization. In earlier times the practice had been to make alliances with the families of neighbouring chiefs.

⁷⁹ The baptism of Atahualpa is one of the most dramatic incidents of the Conquest for the reason that it typifies perfectly the fanatical and hypocritical spirit of some of the conquerors.

⁸⁰ The llautu was the badge of Inca sovereignty. It was also called masca paicha. The head-dress, whatever its form may have been, was without doubt as much a sign of rank as was a crown. Other grades of officials and dignitaries had llautus differing from that worn by the Sapa Inca. Consult:

UHLE, Max:

1907. La Masca Paicha de los Incas. RH, II, pages 227-232.

⁸¹ This Tubalipa was the first of the puppet-Incas to be set up by Francisco Pizarro. His identity is not certain. He was very short-lived.

⁸² A good description of Guamachuco or Huamachuco is given by Cieza de Leon, 1864 (Travels), pages 287-290.

⁸³ For comments on these regions, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

⁸⁴ "Guichuasimi" is probably an attempt at "Quichua o Runa Simi", Runa Simi being another name for Quechua, and probably a much older name than the latter. Runa Simi literally means "Man's mouth". It is possible, of course, that "Guichuasimi" is an attempt to say "Quichua Simi"—Quichua mouth (i. e., Quichua language), indicating that it was the tongue of the Quichua folk (to whom modern usage tends to apply the name Quechua rather than Quichua). Consult:

MARKHAM, Sir Clements R.:

1864. Contributions towards a Grammar and Dictionary of the Quichua. London.

MIDDENDORF, E. W.:

1890. Das Runa Simi Oder die Keshua-Sprache. Leipzig.

1890b. Worterbuch des Runa Simi. Leipzig.

⁸⁵ Vilcaconga is a pass not far from the Apurimac River.

⁸⁶ The Avancay River runs into the Apurimac.

⁸⁷ Compare what Pedro Pizarro says with Sancho, Chapter x.

⁸⁸ The account of these deities given by Pedro Pizarro seems to have been followed very substantially by Cobo. Consult:

COBO, Bernabé:

1890-93. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Ed. by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Seville. 4 volumes. Vol. iv, pages 74-75.

⁸⁹ For information regarding Xaquixaguana, see Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

⁹⁰ For a most valuable study of Manco Inca, see:

BINGHAM, Hiram:

1912. *Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital*. Worcester, Mass. Consult also:

Inca Documents. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. 1913.

CASTRO TITO CUSSI YUPANGUI INCA, Diego de:

1916. *Relacion de la Conquista del Peru y Hechos del Inca Manco II*. Ed. by Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero. Lima.

⁹¹ Wherever appears in the text it means that the original has a blank.

⁹² Compare Sancho, pages 158-159 of the Cortes Society's edition.

⁹³ The Caxana or Casana was the palace of Pachacutec. It stands on the western corner of the great square called Huacay Pata (now the Plaza Mayor).

⁹⁴ The Atuncancha or Hatun Cancha was the palace of Ynca Yupanqui. It stands on the eastern corner of the Huacay Pata.

⁹⁵ This description of the rites for the dead is one of the best we have. Efforts to identify the word *verquis* have not yielded satisfactory results.

⁹⁶ Vila means Vilac Umu, the head-priest of the sacerdotal hierarchy. (Garcilasso, Lib. III, Cap. 22.)

⁹⁷ The garden of gold was undoubtedly a real thing, not an imaginary one. Pizarro's account, however, is more reasonable and less exuberant than some others (notably Garcilasso's), for he speaks as if the golden plants were set out only on special occasions, and Garcilasso (Lib. III, Cap. 24) conveys the impression that they were permanent.

In this connexion it is well to relate a story which I heard from an old Indian curaca at Sicuani near Cuzco in 1914. Bearing in mind the almost unbelievable profusion of gold and silver in the Inca temples and palaces, I asked him why it was that they were never stolen by the servants of the temples. He replied that when Inti the Sun and Mama Quilla the Moon were making the earth they worked very hard and both perspired profusely. The sweat ran from their brows

into the ground where it hardened, and the Sun's sweat became gold and the Moon's became silver. Therefore, these metals were regarded as unutterably sacred, and no one would ever dream of stealing them. I give this tale for what it may be worth. I have never seen it in any ancient books about long-ago Peru.

⁹⁸ The *acllahuasi* were the abodes of those consecrated females whom some writers have misnamed "Virgins of the Sun". As a matter of fact they were not anything else than potential concubines of the Sapa Inca or of other men of position. However, they were also a respected part of the religious establishment, and they had a definite part to take in matters of ritual. Like other branches of the Inca administrative machine, they were systematically grouped, thus: Ten *acllas* were under a superior *aclla*; ten superior *acllas* were under a mistress; ten mistresses were under an "abbess", and the abbess was directly under the authority of the *Vilac Umu* or of one of his vicars. There were several grades of *acllas*: The *yana-acllas* were the young novices (with a novitiate of three years); the *paco-acllas* were the concubines of chiefs or of others whom the Inca wished to honour; the *vayru-acllas* were dames of the *coya* or consort, and also concubines of the Inca; lastly, the *yura-acllas* were dedicated to the Sun. Consult:

CASTAING, A.:

1887b. *Les Croyances sur la Vie d'Outre-Tombe Chez les Anciens Péruviens*. ASAF, v, pages 49-86.

⁹⁹ The word *escaños*, meaning benches, is in the original, as printed. It is probably a misprint for *escaña*, St. Peter's corn, or one-grained wheat, *triticum monococcium*.

¹⁰⁰ This description of Sacsahuaman, the great fortress just north of Cuzco, is perfectly accurate. The south walls of the structure are late Inca in style, but the north walls (those referred to here) are much older.

¹⁰¹ Orejones were of two sorts: The Incas-by-birth and the Incas-by-privilege. The general Quechua word for "lady" is *palla*.

¹⁰² In the original text as published, the third name is repeated for the fourth.

¹⁰³ Cieza de Leon (1883, Chronicle, page 78) explicitly states that the moral conditions among the Incas were good. Wherever they found abominable practices to prevail, they did their utmost to stamp them out. The said abominable practices were especially common among the people on the northerly parts of the coast, and a study of some classes of Chimú pottery reveals the fact that great obscenity was very general among the most highly civilized people of the oldest Chimú period. Even our author, however, does not say that

these things existed among the Incas, and a modern point of view hesitates to sanction the describing of the incestuous marriages of the Incas as "immoral", for they did not infringe the ethical code of the people who had them.

¹⁰⁴ For an account of Jerez or Xerez and Sancho, see Introduction.

¹⁰⁵ Quinoa or quenua is a tree which grows at high levels. From the leaves a delicious dish may be made, by first boiling the leaves in the manner spinach is boiled, and then dressing them with vinegar and pepper. The seeds are prepared with milk or cheese, and are also very good and well-tasting food. This plant is one of those which will, some day or other, be commercialized so as to help out the world's food-supply.

¹⁰⁶ The city of Jauja was founded by Pizarro with only forty Spaniards on 4 October, 1533. Pizarro then passed onwards to Cuzco. Consult:

COBO, Bernabé:

1882. Historia de la Fundacion de Lima. Ed. by Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa. Lima. Pages 8-9.

PHILLIPS, Federico:

1908. Fundacion de Tarma. RH, III, pages 29-38. Lima.

¹⁰⁷ Since both the modern editions use the spelling Grabiél instead of Gabriel, it is preserved here.

¹⁰⁸ On 28 November, 1534, the Cabildo of Jauja held a meeting at which it was decided to move the capital down to the coast. On December 4, Garcia de Salcedo, Rodrigo de Mazuelas and Francisco de Herrera were sent off to look for a new site. Pachacamac seems to have been considered, but finally Rimac (now Lima) was chosen as the place for the capital, and the new foundation took place on January 18, 1535. Consult:

Cobo, 1882, pages 12-18 and 19-23.

Libro Primero de Cabildos de Lima. Ed. by Enrique Torres Saldamando. Paris. 3 volumes. 1900.

¹⁰⁹ Trujillo was founded about the 6 or the 26 December, 1534. Consult:

CABERO, Marco A.:

1906. El Corregimiento de Sana y el Problema Histórico de la Fundación de Trujillo. RH, 1, pages 151-191; 337-373; 486-514. Lima. (Cf. especially page 370.)

¹¹⁰ In rebuilding Cuzco the Spaniards utilized the massive walls of the Inca structures as a basis for their own erections of adobe and plaster and wood. The result is that one often sees in the Cuzco of today a

contrast between the austere grandeur of the lower stories and the tawdry flimsiness of the upper ones. The vast square in the centre of the city was made smaller by the building of some new houses.

¹¹¹ The musical instruments of pre-Inca period in Peru were all of the percussion or of the wind varieties, stringed instruments being unknown. Consult:

MEAD, Charles W.:

1903. The Musical Instruments of the Incas.
AMNHGL, No. 11. New York.

¹¹² The war of Tunis, waged by Charles V against Barbarossa, corsair Moslem king of Tunis, culminated in July, 1535, with the taking of the great fortress of la Goleta. Consult:

CHAPMAN, Charles E.:

1918. A History of Spain. New York. Page 242.

¹¹³ The word yungas is here used to mean hot. The leader of the besieging force was an uncle of Manco Inca.

¹¹⁴ The Indian attacks upon Cuzco were made all the more formidable during this memorable siege by the fact that the Indians had learned how to use European arms and armour. Pedro Pizarro here makes an important remark, for he says that a Tambo (i. e., Paccari-Tampu or Tampu-Tocco) in Condesuyo (Curti-

suyu) was the original home of the Incas. This disproves the claim that the home of the Incas was northeast of Cuzco, and makes it extremely likely that it was southwest of the city.

¹¹⁵ For information about Alonso Enriquez (de Guzman), see Introduction.

¹¹⁶ Almagro seized Cuzco about the middle of April, 1537.

¹¹⁷ I have not been able to locate this place.

¹¹⁸ It is clear that Pizarro confuses the name Antis, belonging to a savage tribe in the eastern forests, with Andes, the name given to the mountains by the Spaniards.

¹¹⁹ Vitcos, the last Inca capital, has been seen and described by Professor Hiram Bingham. Consult:
BINGHAM, Hiram:
1912. Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital. Worcester, Mass.

¹²⁰ The point of this remark is by no means clear. Possibly it is a reference to some fancied effeminacy on Aldana's part. At all events it was very foolish of Almagro to antagonize Aldana.

¹²¹ For descriptions of these wonderful bridges, see Garcilasso, 1869, pages 253-260; Cieza de Leon, 1864, pages 314-315.

¹²² Almagro was put to death July 8, 1538.

¹²³ Manco Inca withdrew into Vilcabamba and to Vitcos in January, 1537.

¹²⁴ The Indian lady thus atrociously murdered is said by Cieza de Leon to have been the mistress of Francisco Pizarro, of Gonzalo Pizarro and of Antonio Picado. Consult:

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1918. The War of Chupas. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 3.

¹²⁵ Pizarro was assassinated on June 26, 1541. A very full account of it appears in the work cited in the previous Note.

¹²⁶ Needless to state, the aspersions cast upon Cieza de Leon by our author are quite unjustifiable.

¹²⁷ Vaca de Castro was at Quito in November, 1541. (*Cartas de Indias*, page 465.)

¹²⁸ As Arequipa itself is not only a good distance inland but also some thousands of feet above the sea, "the port of Arequipa" must be either Islay or Tambo.

¹²⁹ Picado was beheaded in October, 1540. (Prescott, 1916, page 440.)

¹³⁰ Cieza calls this man Herrada, not Rada.

¹³¹ Castro was working southward from Quito at this time.

¹³² The battle of Chupas took place on 16 September, 1542.

¹³³ Remarks about Pedro Pizarro's geography will be found in the Introduction, Section on Geographical Aspects.

¹³⁴ Blasco Nuñez Vela reached Peru early in March, 1544. He arrived at Lima in May.

¹³⁵ This must be a different Picado, as the secretary was dead.

¹³⁶ Illan Xuarez de Carbajal was killed by Blasco Nuñez Vela on 13 September, 1544. This outrageous act turned the Audience against Nuñez.

¹³⁷ The rebellion of Diego Centeno against Gonzalo Pizarro began about May, 1545. The battle of Guarina or Huarina took place on October 21, 1547.

¹³⁸ There can be very little doubt but that Gonzalo Pizarro, encouraged by Carvajal, really entertained the ambition to make himself king. Consult:

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de:

1913. War of Quito. Ed. by CRM, Hakluyt Soc., London. Page 161.

¹³⁹ The remarks made by Pizarro as to the skin-colour of the Peruvians are very important and, probably, truthful. Today one finds people who claim to be pure Indian in blood who are very light in colour, but it is not possible to be sure that they have not some white blood.

¹⁴⁰ The rebellion of Hernandez Giron lasted 1553-1555.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA.....	American Anthropologist.
AASP.....	American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings. (Worcester, Mass.)
AMNHGL.....	American Museum of Natural History, Guide Leaflet. (New York.)
APSP.....	American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.
ASAF.....	Anales de la Société Américaine de France.
BAE.....	Bureau of American Eth- nology, Washington.
BSGL.....	Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.
CIAAP.....	Congres International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhisto- riques.

CRM.....	Clements R. Markham.
FCMP.....	Field Columbian Museum Publications. (Chi- cago.)
GR.....	Geographical Review. (New York.)
HAHR.....	Hispanic American His- torical Review. (Wash- ington.)
ICA.....	International Congress of Americanists.
JRGS.....	Journal of the Royal Geo- graphical Society.
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.
MAAA.....	Memoirs of the American Anthropological Asso- ciation.
MCAAS.....	Memoirs of the Connecti- cut Academy of Arts and Sciences. (New Haven.)
NGM.....	National Geographic Magazine. (Washing- ton.)
PAPS.....	Proceedings of the Ameri- can Philosophical Soci- ety. (Philadelphia.)

PMM.....	Peabody Museum, Mem- oirs. (Cambridge, Mass.)
PMP.....	Peabody Museum, Papers. (Cambridge, Mass.)
RH.....	Revista Histórica. (Lima.)
SMP.....	Smithsonian Miscellane- ous Publications. (Washington.)
TCAAS.....	Transactions of the Con- necticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. (New Haven.)

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